

Can a T-Shirt Save Japan? / Horse Racing's Long Odds

TIME

The Statue of Liberty is depicted from the waist up, holding a complex surveillance camera rig in her right hand. The rig features multiple cameras, including a large dome-shaped one at the top and several smaller ones with night vision lenses. The background is a cloudy sky.

HOMELAND INSECURITY

DO WE NEED TO SACRIFICE
PRIVACY TO BE SAFER?

BY MASSIMO CALABRESI
& MICHAEL CROWLEY

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Photo-Illustration by Ji Lee for TIME; Statue of Liberty: Tetra Images/Getty Images; cameras: iStockphoto; background: Martin Lladó



A former racehorse rests at Old Friends Farm, a nonprofit Thoroughbred retirement center in Georgetown, Ky. Photograph by Jehad Nga for TIME

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Editor's Desk

Creative Time

FROM JOE BIDEN'S MOVING SPEECH to Marissa Mayer's tribute to entrepreneurs to Rand Paul's ode to Thoreau to Jimmy Kimmel's hilarious toast to his fellow comedians, this year's TIME 100 gala featured power, star power and humanitarians making a difference. It's a unique mix of artists, scientists and leaders, and it's our most spectacular night of the year. To see pictures and video, go to time.com/100gala.

THE TENSION BETWEEN SECURITY and liberty is as old as the Republic. Our cover story by Massimo Calabresi and Michael Crowley explores this duality in the wake of the Boston bombing. I believe that the question of whether we need to sacrifice liberty for security is in some ways a false choice and that we can find the right balance. Make sure to check out our TIME/CNN poll on this issue at time.com/securitypoll.

In late April, TIME co-hosted the first annual Creativity Conference in Washington, in cooperation with the Motion Picture Association of America and Microsoft. The half-day event featured a keynote address from President Bill Clinton and interviews with Representative Eric Cantor, producer Harvey Weinstein and HBO CEO Richard Plepler. In an exclusive Penn Schoen Berland poll, we found that Americans are generally less optimistic about our creativity as a nation today than we were in the 1960s. We need to fix that.

Rich

Richard Stengel, MANAGING EDITOR

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The voice Honoree Christina Aguilera sang "Beautiful"



Funny girls Amy Poehler and Lena Dunham bonded



The speaker Biden praised innovation and resilience



On the carpet Michael Kors and actress Olivia Munn



Tie game Jimmy Fallon, Justin Timberlake and Frank Ocean



Star power Gabrielle Giffords, Daniel Day-Lewis, Steven Spielberg and Mark Kelly



High tech Yahoo's Mayer, Mojang's Carl Mameh, Minecraft developer Jens Bergensten and investor Zachary Bogue

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THE WEEK
WE WELCOMED
GAY ATHLETES

Briefing



Manti Te'o

Drafted as a linebacker by the San Diego Chargers

GOOD WEEK

BAD WEEK

Tim Tebow

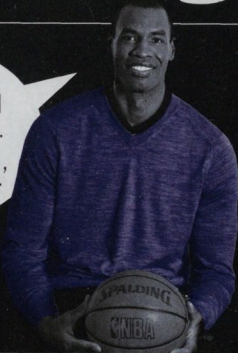
Dropped as a quarterback by the New York Jets



'I'm a 34-year-old NBA center. I'm black. And I'm gay.'

JASON COLLINS,

12-year NBA veteran, writing in *SPORTS ILLUSTRATED*; he is the first male athlete in a major professional U.S. sport to publicly discuss his homosexuality



\$3.17 MILLION

Price fetched at auction for a rare 1913 Liberty Head nickel; only five are known to exist



'WE'VE HAD ENOUGH BUSHES.'



BARBARA BUSH, former First Lady and mother of President George W. Bush, dismissing speculation that her second son Jeb might run for President

'Give me my husband back. At least I want to see his dead body if not alive.'

RATNA AKHTAR, searching for her spouse after an eight-story building housing five garment factories collapsed in Bangladesh, killing 386 people

'Probably the Supreme Court added to the problem.'

SANDRA DAY O'CONNOR, retired Supreme Court Justice, reflecting on the 5-4 decision to end the Bush-Gore presidential election recount in 2000; O'Connor voted with the majority



Seats gained by the Pirate Party in Iceland's 63-member Parliament after the country's recent elections; the group champions political transparency



'We're going to do less with less. That doesn't mean we're going to do it poorly.'

GENERAL JAMES AMOS, commandant of the Marine Corps, on the sequestration cuts, which will trim \$500 billion from the Pentagon's budget over the next 10 years





Briefing

LightBox

Wheels of Industry

A North Korean man tends his bicycle next to a communist propaganda poster in Kaesong, an industrial area near the demilitarized zone along the border with South Korea, on April 24

Photograph by David Guttenfelder—AP

FOR PICTURES OF THE WEEK,
GO TO lightbox.time.com

World

Outsourcing and the Dhaka Disaster

BY BRYAN WALSH

The collapse of a textile-factory building near Dhaka, Bangladesh, on April 24, which killed at least 400 people, is almost certainly the worst accident in the history of the global garment industry. But it's hardly the only one—especially in Bangladesh, which has capitalized on its ultra-low-cost labor force to build a \$19 billion export industry. Just last November, a fire at another textile factory in Dhaka killed over 100 people—and was barely felt by the global clothing industry.

Will this time be any different? Bangladeshi workers hit the streets in force after the catastrophe, calling for the death penalty for the factory's owner, Mohammed Sohail Rana, who was arrested trying

to flee the country on April 28. Rana's factory reportedly stayed open despite visible cracks in the building's foundation. Bangladesh officials certainly deserve blame for not doing enough to enforce the country's labor and building standards, weak as they might be. But Western brands and consumers have benefited from cheap clothing made in Bangladesh, where the minimum wage is \$36.50 a month, and they share some responsibility for the carnage. International retailers can and should do more to put pressure on the Bangladeshi government and local manufacturers to improve worker safety. Bangladesh has benefited enormously from the growth of its textile industry, which provides needed jobs, especially for rural migrants. But no job—and no \$3 T-shirt—is worth dying for.



A Bangladeshi woman holds a picture of her missing husband outside the collapsed factory

THE NETHERLANDS

‘Well, at least one person got a new job.’

INGE BOSMAN, a 38-year-old Amsterdam resident, after Willem-Alexander (right, with Queen Maxima) was crowned the Netherlands' first King since 1890; E.U. estimates put Dutch unemployment at 6.4%, up from 5% in March 2012



DATA

OBAMA'S GREATEST GIFTS

The U.S. President routinely receives luxe presents from foreign leaders, which are turned over to the National Archives. Here are some of the priciest from 2011, according to a just-released list by the State Department.

Daum blue mask sculpture, from Ali Bongo Ondimba, President of Gabon

EST. VALUE:
\$52,695



Large printed photograph by Vik Muniz, from Sergio Cabral, governor of Rio de Janeiro

EST. VALUE:
\$40,000



Bronze statue of Abraham Lincoln, from Hu Jintao, President of China

EST. VALUE:
\$9,800



Black golf accessory bag made by Hermès, from Nicolas Sarkozy, President of France

EST. VALUE:
\$7,750



Four Biggest Challenges Facing Italy's New Government

After two months of political stalemate, Italy's new Prime Minister, Enrico Letta, was finally sworn in on April 28. Here's what the anti-austerity leader is up against.

1. FRACTURED LEADERSHIP

Italy's two major parties have spent 18 years at war. Letta's Democrats—who disagree on crucial issues like how to reboot the economy—united only in order to beat **Silvio Berlusconi's** People of Freedom Party.



2. PRECARIOUS ALLIANCE

Although Berlusconi—who is facing trial on charges of paying for sex with a minor—agreed to support Letta, his party still controls key Cabinet ministries, which could allow him to block policies he doesn't like.

3. ECONOMIC TURMOIL

Previous attempts to fix Italy's financial system with structural reforms were thwarted by unions. Letta's efforts are less ambitious, but it's unclear how he'll pay for them.

4. A THIRD PARTY

Comic turned politician **Beppe Grillo** doesn't hold elected office—he refused to work with other parties—but his Five Star Movement won millions of votes in the February election and stands to benefit politically if Letta's leadership fails.





Deliverance From Disaster

CHINA Rescuers unload relief supplies in Shuangshi township in southwestern Sichuan province, days after a magnitude-6.6 earthquake on April 20 killed at least 193 people and injured more than 11,000 others. China has poured more than \$160 million in disaster aid into Sichuan, but tens of thousands of survivors are living on the streets or in makeshift tents and face shortages of food and other supplies. *Photograph by AFP/Getty Images*

Progress Report

Gender Equality at the Western Wall

A Jerusalem court ruled that women arrested for wearing traditionally male prayer shawls at the Western Wall, or Kotel, weren't breaking the law—a big step toward equality at one of the world's holiest sites. Here's how other issues stand.



Start a Dialogue

Reform Jews generally lean pro-equality; Orthodox Jews typically don't. In December, Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu tapped Jewish Agency head Natan Sharansky to help them talk and compromise.



Make the Mixed Section Bigger

Both sides were encouraged by Sharansky's proposal to expand Robinson's Arch, where men and women can pray together, but the Kotel's rabbi and Women of the Wall activists have since withdrawn support.



Let Anyone Read From the Torah

Women can't read a Torah scroll aloud at the wall (per a 2003 Supreme Court ruling), but activists plan to challenge that policy on May 10 during a monthly service, just as they did with the prayer shawls.



Support the Diaspora

Recent protests have exposed a gap between the Conservative and Reform movements in the U.S., where men and women pray together, and the Israeli government, which supports Orthodox law at the wall.



GERMANY

\$618,679

Amount that a 1939 Daimler once owned by British Prime Minister Winston Churchill fetched during an eBay auction on April 29



Trending In



LAW

Parliament members in New Zealand sang a Maori love song after the country became the 13th nation to recognize gay marriage



ADVENTURE

Nepali officials vowed to improve security on Mount Everest after a brawl broke out between European climbers and sherpas



ANIMALS

Botswana's President Ian Khama was scratched by a caged cheetah during a visit to an army barracks



SCANDAL

Two hospital workers in India were arrested after allegedly buying a newborn boy then selling him on Facebook for \$15,000



Health

The End of Insulin? A newly discovered hormone could free diabetics from injections

BY ALICE PARK

WHAT TOOK SO LONG? THAT'S what millions of diabetics are asking after scientists stumbled on a hormone that could help people with Type 2 diabetes make the insulin they lack—without drugs and without needles.

The hormone, called betatrophin, was discovered when Douglas Melton, a co-director of the Harvard Stem Cell Institute, and his postdoctoral fellow Peng Yi were searching for ways to mimic the disease in animals. In humans with Type 2 diabetes, insulin-making cells in the pancreas gradually lose their ability to sense and respond to glucose levels in the blood. But when Yi gave mice a compound that shut down insulin production, he was surprised to find that the animals' pancreases responded by popping out more cells that could produce the hormone.

The agent responsible for the dramatic repopulation? Betatrophin. Over the course of several weeks, levels of the hormone shot up, and the pancreas pumped out insulin-making beta cells at 30 times the normal rate. Melton and his team are measuring how long-lasting betatrophin's effects are and are preparing to investigate the hormone in people.

The finding is an exciting breakthrough in diabetes research, which for years was focused on finding ways to supplement waning insulin levels with drugs or injections. Experts believed that once beta cells were compromised, they couldn't be made

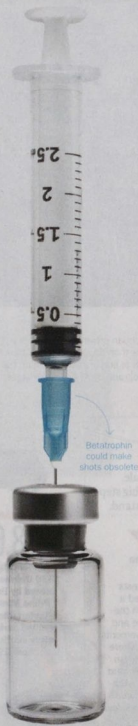
to work again. They also surmised that only a subset of these cells could make insulin, so after diabetes set in, too few of them remained to produce the hormone.

That changed in 2007 when Melton reported that all beta cells in the pancreas were capable of producing insulin, and his desire to better understand this process led to the discovery of betatrophin. But even he could not have guessed that the answer to treating diabetes might lie in such a relatively simple solution.

Most of Melton's work focuses on complex ways of manipulating stem cells to make more beta cells that churn out insulin. But if betatrophin can do that by itself in human trials, giving patients the hormone could help them reduce or eliminate their medications and insulin shots. Moreover, if scientists can stop new beta cells from being destroyed by the immune system, as they are in Type 1 diabetes, betatrophin could help those patients as well.

Dr. John Anderson, president of medicine and science at the American Diabetes Association, is cautiously optimistic. "Maybe the disease doesn't progress. Maybe [betatrophin] minimizes medications, including insulin," he says. "That's far down the line."

Melton is ready for the journey; it could be several years before human trials begin. "There seems to be a clear path forward," he says. "But I'm prepared to have it become more complicated."



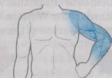
Recent Breakthroughs In Diabetes Treatment



ARTIFICIAL PANCREAS BioHub's transplantable matrix of pancreatic cells mimics the organ to potentially treat Type 1 diabetes.



GUT ENZYME Scientists at Washington University in St. Louis are researching an intestinal enzyme that could help cells break down sugar—a boon for Type 2 diabetics.



FAT BLOCKER Fat buildup in muscle can hamper cells' ability to respond to insulin. But an international group of researchers showed that blocking it with a protein called VEGF-B could help prevent Type 2 diabetes.



Let's
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Places

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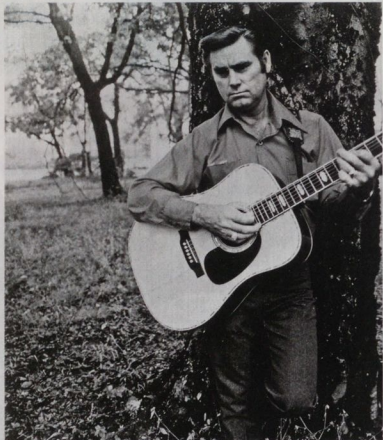
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Milestones



DIED

George Jones Country-music legend

By Merle Haggard

I first met George Jones in 1961 at a place called the Blackboard in Bakersfield, Calif. I was a big fan for many years before that. Back in those days, George had a pretty bad reputation. A lot of times he wouldn't show up, and when he did, a lot of times he was inebriated. He was that way that night. They had him in a little office in the nightclub, getting him some coffee, and I was onstage singing Marty Robbins' song "Devil Woman." George jumped up out of the room, kicked the door open and said, "Who in the hell is that?" From that day on, he and I had this mutual respect for each other.

When George died on April 26 at 81, we lost the greatest country singer who ever lived. Every time he stepped in front of a mike, he knocked me out. "She Thinks I Still Care" is my favorite. Then there's "White Lightning," and the list goes on forever. His delivery on "He Stopped Loving Her Today" is comparable to a fine opera. He's conveying something there about as well as it can be conveyed. I think he's with the Lord, probably having a great time, him and old Hank Williams and all the rest (wait a minute now, Hank may not be there). George was real, that's all I'll say. He was the most down-to-earth old country boy, didn't want anything special. He was just George Jones, and we loved him.

Haggard is a Country Music Hall of Fame singer and songwriter

DIED

Deanna Durbin, 91, teenage movie star of Depression-era hits like *Three Smart Girls*, who retreated from the spotlight more than 60 years ago.

NOMINATED

Charlotte, N.C., Mayor Anthony Foxx, to replace Ray LaHood as U.S. Secretary of Transportation; the department, already dealing with an aging American infrastructure, faces the challenges of sequester cuts.

SIGNED

College basketball star and newly drafted WNBA player Brittney Griner to a sponsorship deal with Nike; Griner came out as gay on the eve of the WNBA draft.



DIED

Stanley Dashew, 96, inventor and entrepreneur; he held 40 patents in fields from mining to mass transit but was best known for helping develop the first bank credit-card system.

LAUNCHED

Online gambling site UltimatePoker.com, which allows players in Nevada to lawfully compete in \$1,000 daily and \$10,000 Sunday games; New Jersey and Delaware have also legalized online gambling.

DIED

Mary Thom, 68, editor at Ms. magazine from 1972 to 1992 who helped shape the writing of feminist voices including Gloria Steinem.

DIED

Richie Havens Folksinger

On the first day of Woodstock, Aug. 15, 1969, Richie Havens was supposed to be the fifth act. With the scheduled opener all stuck in a massive traffic jam, Havens and his small band ended up taking the stage first, at a little after 5 p.m. They played their scheduled songs, plus more—including the anti-Vietnam War anthem "Handsome Johnny"—and then Havens improvised an encore, blending "Freedom" (which he made up on the spot) with the spiritual "Motherless Child." Two years before Woodstock, Havens, who died April 22 at 72, released a soulful album, *Mixed Bag*, that pervaded FM radio; two years afterward, his rendition of the Beatles' "Here Comes the Sun" cracked the Top 20. He recorded two dozen albums, wrote commercial jingles and performed at Bill Clinton's first Inauguration, in 1993. But it was his Woodstock performance that captured the spirit of the festival, and thanks to the 1970 concert film, "Freedom/Motherless Child" became 4% of the most talismanic minutes of Woodstock. The image of an exhausted yet transfixed Havens, his craggy voice crying out for freedom, came to personify the hopes of the '60s generation. Thanks to YouTube, it will live on for generations to come. —NATE RAWLINGS



JONES: MICHAEL OCHS ARCHIVES/GETTY IMAGES; GRINER: BABY POSTCARD—NBA/GETTY IMAGES; THOM: JONAS MEYER—J&L PHOTO/GETTY IMAGES



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John Amaechi

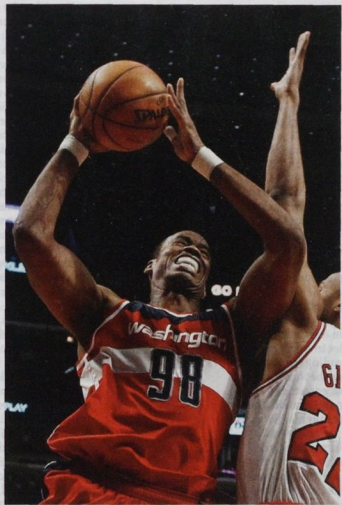
The Real Locker-Room Shocker

It's not that Jason Collins is coming out; it's that pro basketball is already an open workplace

PEOPLE HAVE LONG SPECULATED that an openly gay player like Jason Collins wouldn't be welcome in an NBA locker room. That he would somehow destroy team dynamics. Most people who have this fantasy about locker rooms—that they are these places of staunch machismo—haven't spent much time in them.

The reality is that a locker room is a workplace. For people who work in sports—athletes, coaches, trainers—it's no different from a cubicle, conference room or office, except for all the towels and tape strewn on the floor, and the smell. And in the same way sexual harassment is not appropriate in the workplace or the military, it's not appropriate in the locker room, either. Anybody who thinks the professional sports locker room is some sort of sexual playpen is perhaps living out his own alternative fantasy. The main concern for me and most of my teammates was getting a little privacy and being able to get showered and dressed by the time the media came in after a game. If we were really lucky, we got dressed and left and missed the media completely.

Jason is a free agent now, and the biggest impediment to his playing next season won't be his sexuality. It'll be that he's a 34-year-old with a lot of wear and tear, competing in a league where every 18-year-old Croatian who is 7 ft. tall wants a shot. But if he does get a job, he'll thrive. Jason won't cause any discomfort, because he's been around; players know him. He's a thoughtful,



The Washington Wizards' Jason Collins drives to the basket April 17

considerate guy who will be a mentor to younger players and is exactly the type of athlete we wish we saw on a regular basis. This new piece of information doesn't radically change him. Other players know that the most dangerous thing about Jason Collins is that he's probably going to knock your head off with his elbow if you're not careful.

And that's a good thing when you're on his team.

Plus, today's players have broader minds. They're more involved in the film and music industries, in the art and fashion worlds. The overt homophobia, the talking about gay people in an incredibly derogatory way, is far less prevalent. I experienced some of that when I played. I didn't

come out of the closet while I was playing in the early 2000s because I was afraid I'd lose my job. I don't think I'd feel the same way today.

I know that Jason's going to be well received. I've already gotten hundreds of messages through Facebook and Twitter from kids all over the world, saying, "I feel safer and more hopeful because of the reaction to what Jason has done." Look at all the positive responses, the support from star players like LeBron James and Dwyane Wade and league commissioner David Stern.

The support that Jason has received both in the sports world and society at large is certainly encouraging. He's the sign of a changing tide in society; it's the perfect time for someone like Jason to come along. But he's also just a star. If people are really interested in making this more than a media moment, don't just like Jason on Facebook. **Don't just follow him on Twitter and pat him on the back when you see him.** The next time someone stands up and talks about how there needs to be a law to keep gay people out of schools or says that it's O.K. for gay people to be fired for their sexuality or that their relationships shouldn't be recognized, that's when you show your commitment. That's how Jason Collins will have a bigger impact than anyone ever imagined. ■

Amaechi, CEO of Amaechi Performance, a consulting company, came out in 2007 after playing six seasons in the NBA. Follow him on Twitter at @JohnAmaechi

With or Without Us

The assumption that American intervention could mitigate Syria's carnage is flawed



THOSE URGING THE U.S. TO INTERVENE in Syria are certain of one thing: If we had intervened sooner, things would be better in that war-torn country. Had the Obama Administration gotten involved earlier, there would be less instability and fewer killings. We would not be seeing, in John McCain's words of April 28, "atrocities that are on a scale that we have not seen in a long, long time."

In fact, we have seen atrocities much worse than those in Syria very recently, in Iraq under U.S. occupation only a few years ago. From 2003 to 2012, despite there being as many as 180,000 American and allied troops in Iraq, somewhere between 150,000 and 300,000 Iraqi civilians died and about 1.5 million fled the country. Jihad groups flourished in Iraq, and al-Qaeda had a huge presence there. The U.S. was about as actively engaged in Iraq as is possible, and yet more terrible things happened there than in Syria. Why?

The point here is not to make comparisons among atrocities. The situation in Syria is much like that in Iraq—and bears little resemblance to that in Libya—so we can learn a lot from our experience there. Joshua Landis, the leading scholar on Syria, points out that it is the last of the three countries of the Levant where minority regimes have been challenged by the majority. In Lebanon, the Christian elite were displaced through a bloody civil war that started in the 1970s and lasted 15 years. In Iraq in 2003, the U.S. military quickly displaced the Sunni elite, handing the country over to the Shi'ites—but the Sunnis have fought back ferociously for almost a decade. Sectarian killings persist in Iraq to this day.

SYRIA IS FOLLOWING A SIMILAR PATTERN. THE country has a Sunni majority. The regime is Alawite, a Shi'ite subset that makes up 12% of the population, but it also draws some support from other minorities—Druze, Armenians and others—who worry about their fate in a majoritarian Syria. These fears might be justified. Consider what has happened to the Christians of Iraq. There were as many as 1.4 million of them before the Iraq war. There are now about 500,000, and many of their churches have been destroyed. Christian life in Iraq, which has survived since the days of the Bible, is in real danger of being

LEAVE, OR
STAND AND
FIGHT?



CITIZEN
SOLDIERS

Over 1,000 militias are operating within Syrian borders, according to Syria expert Joshua Landis



TIME TO GO

About 50,000 people are fleeing Syria every week; 1.5 million have left the country as refugees since the conflict began

TO READ MORE
BY FAREED, GO TO
time.com/zakaria

extinguished by the current regime in Baghdad.

All the features of Syria's civil war that are supposedly the result of U.S. nonintervention also appeared in Iraq despite America's massive intervention there. In Iraq under U.S. occupation, many Sunni groups banded together with jihadi forces from the outside; some even broke bread with al-Qaeda. Shi'ite militias got support from Iran. Both sides employed tactics that were brutal beyond belief—putting electric drills through people's heads, burning others alive and dumping still breathing victims into mass graves.

These struggles get vicious for a reason: the stakes are very high. The minority regime fights to the end because it fears for its life once out of power. The Sunnis of Iraq fought—even against the mighty American military—because they knew that life under the Shi'ites would be ugly, as it has proved to be. The Alawites in Syria will fight even harder because they are a smaller minority and have further to fall.

WOULD U.S. INTERVENTION—NO-FLY ZONES, arms, aid to the opposition forces—make things better? It depends on what one means by *better*. It would certainly intensify the civil war. It would also make the regime of Bashar Assad more desperate. Perhaps Assad has already used chemical weapons; with his back against the wall, he might use them on a larger scale. As for external instability, Landis points out that if U.S. intervention tipped the balance against the Alawites, they might flee Syria into Lebanon, destabilizing that country for decades. Again, this pattern is not unprecedented. Large numbers on the losing side have fled wars in the Middle East, from Palestinians in 1948 to Iraq's Sunnis in the past decade.

If the objective is actually to reduce the atrocities and minimize potential instability, the key will be a political settlement that gives each side an assurance that it has a place in the new Syria. That was never achieved in Iraq, which is why, despite U.S. troops and arms and influence, the situation turned into a violent free-for-all. If some kind of political pact can be reached, there's hope for Syria. If it cannot, U.S. assistance to the rebels or even direct military intervention won't change much: Syria will follow the pattern of Lebanon and Iraq—a long, bloody civil war. And America will be in the middle of it.

Bringing It All Back Home

Why the smartest foreign policy choice for the U.S. now is to focus on domestic affairs

I HAVE JUST WRITTEN A BOOK I NEVER imagined writing. Sandpaper off the nuances and subtleties and *Foreign Policy Begins at Home* argues for less foreign policy of the sort the U.S. has been conducting for much of the past decade and greater emphasis on domestic investment and policy reform. For someone like me, a card-carrying member of the American foreign policy establishment for nearly four decades, this borders on heresy.

So, what got me to this point? It begins with what is going on here at home—and what is not. We lurch from crisis to crisis, nearly going over fiscal cliffs, threatening not to pay our bills to creditors, cutting much needed investment in human and physical capital, stealing from our children by refusing to rein in spending on retirement and Medicare, and educating people from abroad who want to stay and contribute to this society—and then refusing them the opportunity to do just that. Our public schools and many of our colleges and universities are not preparing young people or the long term unemployed for a competitive global world. Our debt trajectory is unsustainable. Unless something meaningful is done, it is a question of when, not if, a major economic crisis materializes.

It is possible that things will turn out all right in the end. But I am not so sure. The political system is too often gridlocked, a victim of unprecedented polarization. Special interests representing retirees, public-service unions and various private interests bring great intensity to public debates, along with dollars and pressures to match. Much less clear is just who speaks for the national interest.

Our recent record in the world, starting with the Iraq war and the Afghanistan troop surge in 2009, has only added to my concerns. I mention both because my differences are not with a single party. Many participants in the foreign policy debate appear to have forgotten the injunction of former President and Secretary of State John Quincy Adams that America “goes not abroad in search of monsters to destroy.” Neither Iraq nor Afghanistan (as of 2009) was a war of necessity; more important, neither was a justifiable war of choice. In both cases, the interests at stake were decidedly less than vital. In both cases, alternative policies that promised outcomes of comparable benefit to this country at far less cost were available. History and even a cursory knowledge of the societies in question suggested that ambitious attempts to refashion their



NATIONAL PRIORITIES



Create a national infrastructure bank to rebuild the U.S.

Double visas and increase green cards for the highly skilled

Reduce entitlements through means testing



Try to remake the Middle East in our image

Ask our military to solve every foreign policy problem

Expect the “international community” to act

workings and political cultures would founder. More than a decade of enormous sacrifice has hurt this country's reputation for judgment and competence and failed to produce results in any way commensurate with the human, military and economic costs of the undertakings. Such an imbalance between means and ends makes no sense at the best of times; it is even less defensible now, when the U.S. faces challenges to its solvency.

I wish I were more confident that the right lessons have been learned. But the 2011 intervention in Libya, the flurry of commentary that appeared on the occasion of the 10th anniversary of the Iraq war and the debate over what to do about the situation in Syria leave me concerned. It is not enough to oust bad regimes; it is necessary to think through whether they would likely be replaced by something decidedly better and what that would entail. If the costs promise to be too high or the prospects too poor, we should think twice about acting. There are limits to what outsiders can do with military force; local realities trump global abstractions. It is not enough to want to do good; goals must also be achievable at a cost in line with interests. We ignore these truisms at our peril.

DON'T GET ME WRONG. I HAVE NOT BECOME another declinist. This country enjoys great strengths and potential alike. But no American ought to be sanguine about where this country is or is heading; it is clear that the U.S. is underperforming. Nor am I an isolationist. It would be folly in an era in which borders are not barriers. But only by getting its own house in order will the U.S. be in a position to set an example other societies will want to emulate. And only by fixing itself will the U.S. possess the resources necessary to discourage the emergence of a serious political and military competitor—or deal with it should one emerge.

It's time to level with ourselves: we have been overreaching abroad and underachieving at home. Winston Churchill is often quoted as saying, “You can always count on Americans to do the right thing—after they've tried everything else.” All I can say is that I hope he is right, because we clearly seem to be intent on trying just about everything else. ■

Haass is the president of the Council on Foreign Relations and author of Foreign Policy Begins at Home: The Case for Putting America's House in Order

An Angry Obama. Finally.

Political moderates have stayed quiet for too long. It's time to speak up



DURING THE CHAOTIC WEEK OF THE Boston bomb attacks, Barack Obama finally did something a lot of people had been waiting for: He got angry. In public. In the Rose Garden. It happened after the Senate had shamefully failed to pass a bill, favored by the overwhelming majority of Americans, requiring background checks for gun purchasers. "The gun lobby and its allies willfully lied about the bill," he said. "They claimed that it would create some sort of Big Brother gun registry even though the bill did the opposite ... Those lies upset an intense minority of gun owners, and that in turn intimidated a lot of Senators."

Assorted Republicans were put off by Obama's passion. The conservative columnist Charles Krauthammer falsely claimed that the President had falsely claimed that the background-checks bill would have prevented the Newtown massacre. Krauthammer also said that helping the victims' families lobby for the law was "emotional blackmail." The conservative pundit and former Bush functionary Pete Wehner—who occasionally professes a desire for moderation but just can't help himself when it comes to the President—called Obama's behavior "demagoguery" and described it as a "Lear-like" rage.

To which I say, Bring it on, Mr. President. Obama's anger served a larger purpose. It was directed at the plague affecting—no, paralyzing—our public life: the ability of well-funded extremist groups to thwart the will of the overwhelming majority. This is a problem that goes well beyond the gun issue. It has infected liberal and conservative lobbying groups alike. Their constant screeching defiles the mass media and drowns out voices of sanity. Their give-no-quarter politics defines our time. The President finally reflected the public fury I often hear when I travel the country. His outburst should be a guide to other Washington politicians. It is well past time for political moderates to speak as forcefully as the snake-oil salesmen who are hijacking our democracy.

I include among the demagogues Democrats like Jim Dean—former governor Howard Dean's brother—who recently sent out a fundraising letter titled "Disgusted," which began with this subtle enjoiner: "President Obama's budget has left me absolutely disgusted." Really? Why? Because the President has called for very modest cuts in old-age entitlements. I also include both sides of the abortion

BY THE NUMBERS



THE VOTERS

After lawmakers failed to pass a bill expanding gun-sale background checks, 65% of Americans said that was a mistake, Gallup found. In January, 91% supported universal checks.

ILLINOIS CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT 4



THE DISTRICTS

Last December, statistics guru Nate Silver used presidential-election results to gauge the competitiveness of House districts: he estimated that only 35 swing seats remained, partly as a result of gerrymandering by state lawmakers.

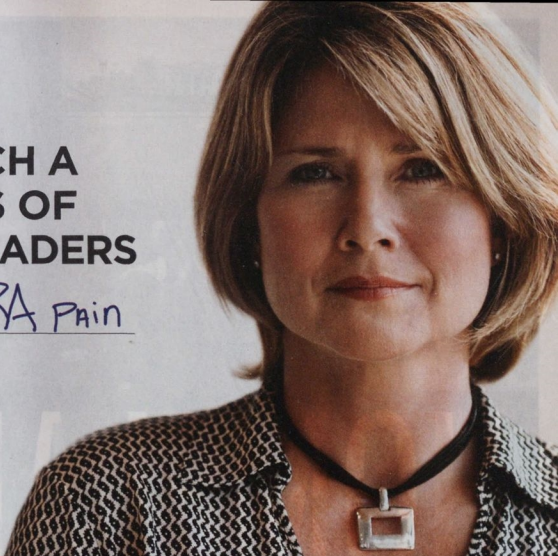
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debate, public employees' unions that won't change their work rules, the gun lobby—obviously—and its liberal doppelgänger, the civil-libertarian lobby. Innumerable other groups fester, waiting for the chance to raise funds off the paranoia of their supporters. The oil barons and financial wizards and labor unions all use the same maximalist tactics on their targeted politicians: If you oppose us, even a little bit, we'll slide the slippery slope toward socialism (or whatever)—and you will pay come election time.

There are those who argue that the Senate vote on background checks may prove a turning point, that the gun lobby's campaign was just too egregious, that there will be a backlash. There is polling evidence that some of those who opposed the bill have lost altitude with their constituents. "The public always moves before the political elite," says Mark McKinnon, a political consultant who has worked for Democrats and Republicans and is one of the founders of the nonpartisan No Labels movement. "And I think there will be a huge premium in the next election for politicians who take bold positions on issues that aren't popular with their party's base" but that enjoy broad support from the public.

IT WOULD BE NICE TO THINK SO, BUT THE VAST majority of Congresspeople live in safe districts, drawn by colluding state legislators who concoct logic-crushing maps to protect the incumbents of both parties. There is constant talk of making structural changes to the system to limit special-interest power—end congressional gerrymandering (California's Arnold Schwarzenegger managed to succeed at this), reform campaign-finance laws—but such changes would require a much more engaged citizenry than we have now. And in that chicken-and-egg sense, McKinnon is probably right: We need bold candidates to revive our democracy.

I've seen this happen occasionally. In 1982, Mario Cuomo ran for governor of New York, a state seething with anticrime fervor, and opposed the death penalty. Rather than hide that fact, he celebrated it. If the question didn't come up in town meetings, he'd raise it: "Doesn't anybody want to ask me about the death penalty?" Skeptical New Yorkers still disagreed with him but saw strength and integrity. Courage worked; he won. And his opponent in that primary, the late Ed Koch, took a lesson from it: "If you agree with me on 9 out of 12 issues, vote for me. If you agree with me on 12 out of 12 issues, see a psychiatrist."



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CLASS OF
4TH GRADERS

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WITH RA PAIN.

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April 2013

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


HOMELAND






INSECURITY



HOW FAR SHOULD WE GO?



BY MASSIMO
CALABRESI
AND MICHAEL
CROWLEY

THE CONTEST BETWEEN LIBERTY

and security has been with America since its founding. It has been fought on the public stage by every President from George Washington to Barack Obama. Each generation, from those facing rebellion in the 1860s to those pushing back against government intrusions a century later, has debated where to strike a balance. But in the dark world of 21st century law enforcement, where terrorist threats can hide behind our most cherished freedoms, the battle sometimes takes place in government documents so obscure that they escape public notice.

Take the case of the FBI's Domestic Investigations and Operations Guide. In October 2011, Obama's Justice Department, mindful of increasing signs of homegrown terrorism, quietly granted FBI agents new powers that disturbed civil libertarians. Federal agents could now data-mine vast stores of information about individuals without making a reviewable record of their actions. They could conduct extensive physical surveillance of suspects without firm evidence of criminal or terrorist activity. They could interview people under false pretenses. They even had wider freedom to rummage through the trash of potential suspects.

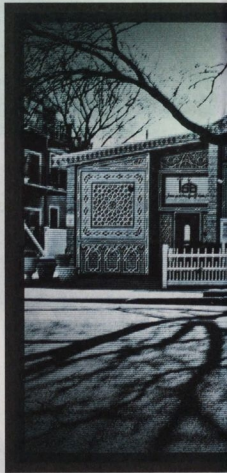
But the new guidelines also featured added restrictions on an especially sensitive area of FBI counterterrorism work: mosques. Under the new rules, agents could no longer enter a religious organization without special new approval—in some cases directly from FBI headquarters. Moreover, according to still-classified sections of the new rules made available to TIME, any plan to go undercover in a place of worship—a tactic employed by the bureau after Sept. 11, 2001, that drew protests from Muslim Americans and at least one lawsuit from a California mosque—would now need special approval from a newly

established oversight body at Department of Justice headquarters called the Sensitive Operations Review Committee, or SORC.

On January 18, 15 months after those guidelines were issued and just a few days before Martin Luther King Jr.'s birthday, a young immigrant from the Russian region of Dagestan, Tamerlan Tsarnaev, stood up in his mosque in Cambridge, Mass., and confronted his imam when the religious leader extolled King's greatness. Tamerlan yelled that the preacher was a "non-believer" and was "contaminating" his followers' minds. The congregation shouted Tamerlan down and hounded him out the door. The FBI didn't learn about the episode, or the fact that Tamerlan had been posting radical Islamic videos on his YouTube page, until after three people were dead on Boylston Street.

There's no telling whether closer monitoring of Tamerlan's mosque might have stopped him. But the Tsarnaev case raises, once again, hard questions about how we want to apply the Bill of Rights and the post-Civil War guarantees of equal protection in our time. Where is the limit to what Washington should do in the name of our security? Do Americans want undercover agents spying on their prayers? What aspect of privacy might we give up in the interest of better security? Perhaps the FBI agents who were alerted to Tamerlan's radical turn by Russian intelligence in 2011 should have monitored his Internet activity long enough to spot his terrorist sympathies. Should Americans let the government sniff through their communications? According to a new TIME/CNN/ORC International poll, nearly twice as many Americans are concerned about a loss of civil liberties as are worried about a weakening of anti-terror policies.

It is still unclear whether Tamerlan Tsarnaev, whose body is being released to his relatives, and his younger brother Dzhokhar, now in custody, were self-radicalized and acted independently—or whether they acted at the behest of an ideological mentor or foreign organization. Congress and U.S. intelligence agencies are now studying whether warning signs were tragically missed. But it seems increasingly clear that the activities of the Tsarnaev brothers and many other would-be homegrown terrorists can be detected not through travel records and financial transactions but only through the more opaque realm of online activities and religious attitudes.



With al-Qaeda weakened abroad but self-taught, wi-fi-empowered jihadis increasingly a threat at home, balancing freedom and security is an old problem we'll have to get used to once again.

The Road to Radicalization

IN HINDSIGHT, TAMERLAN TSARNAEV followed a gradual path toward radicalization that authorities have seen many times before. His identity was not religious when he moved to the U.S. from Dagestan, a province in southern Russia, in 2003. He became an avid boxer who dreamed of a professional career. He was also a bit of a libertine, a drinker and smoker who sported reflector sunglasses, tight jeans, even white fur—"dressed like a pimp, kind of Eurotrash," as one neighbor told the *Washington Post*. He played violin and piano. While waiting to register for a boxing tournament, he once sat down at a piano in the room and played an impromptu 20-minute classical piece, according to a *New York Times* account, leading



the gathered boxers to erupt into applause.

Long before the blasts on Boylston Street, however, people around Tamerlan could see him changing. He stopped smoking and drinking and started to complain about the U.S. government. He began to study the Koran. His boxing career hit a dead end. The next year his parents moved back to Russia. Although he had married an American woman (who converted to Islam), he was becoming isolated and said he had no American friends. Soon his flashy style of dress was gone and he sometimes wore a beard. He was also angry and increasingly confrontational, especially on matters of religion and society.

In 2011, Russia's Federal Security Service contacted the FBI to warn that Tamerlan had turned toward radicalism. The alert was prompted by a phone conversation the Russians had recorded between Tamerlan and his mother, then living in the republic of Dagestan, in which they discussed jihad.

That's when the FBI conducted its assessment of Tamerlan, tapping post-9/11

Never fit in Leaders of the Islamic Society of Boston mosque say Tamerlan objected to their moderate approach

powers to investigate potential threats without opening a formal inquiry. The FBI ran Tamerlan's name through a federal counterterrorism database of known Islamic-extremist websites, a senior law-enforcement official tells TIME. The bureau also checked whether Tamerlan had called telephone numbers associated with known Islamic extremists, the official says. The FBI took no different investigative steps, the senior law-enforcement official says, including interviewing Tamerlan, but after finding no sign of terrorism, the bureau closed its case file, concluding he was not a danger.

In January 2012, Tamerlan took his notorious trip to Dagestan, where his parents live in the capital, Makhachkala. His precise activities there are unclear. His father says Tamerlan visited a conserva-

tive mosque popular among the republic's Islamist fighters. "I would be lying if I told you that everyone who gathers there is an angel," Magomedtagir Temirchiev, a local attendee of the mosque, tells TIME. U.S. officials are now investigating whether Tsarnaev met with local militants, including a Russian-Canadian boxer and convert to Islam named William Plotnikov, who was killed in a firefight with Russian forces on July 14, 2012. Tamerlan flew back to the U.S. two days later.

Tamerlan's overseas trip set off no alarms at the FBI. When he landed at New York City's JFK airport, the Department of Homeland Security notified Boston's Joint Terrorism Task Force. An agent there reviewed the automated alert but took no further action.

Now back home in Cambridge, Tamerlan was an occasional visitor to the Islamic Society of Boston mosque, an ornately decorated, low-slung building on a residential street. Here, the burgeoning radical could not stomach the mosque's message of relative moderation. When an imam sermonized at a weekly prayer session in mid-November that it's appropriate for Muslims to celebrate such secular American holidays as July 4 and Thanksgiving, Tsarnaev stood up and declared that Islam forbids it, an argument he continued with the preacher after his sermon ended. Two months later, on the Friday before Martin Luther King Jr. Day, Tamerlan had his big confrontation with the imam over the approaching holiday. After being warned by mosque leaders to stop interrupting or stop attending, Tamerlan chose the former.

Picking a fight with your imam is hardly illegal—in fact, it's protected by the First Amendment. Perhaps even more telling was Tamerlan's Internet activity. In August 2012 he created a YouTube account, and in subsequent months he posted several videos promoting militant Islam. One of them, listed under the header "Terrorists," featured militants with automatic weapons. Another, titled "The Emergence of Prophecy: The Black Flags from Khorasan," celebrated the defeat of infidels by jihadi fighters. Still another featured a radical Islamic cleric who attacks the *Harry Potter* series as evil and argues that the books promote "the drinking of unicorn blood and magic." Looking back now, it is tempting to conclude that an alert federal agent might have spotted a dangerous pattern here.

SECURITY VS. LIBERTY

IN TIMES OF WAR, WASHINGTON HAS OFTEN RESTRICTED PERSONAL FREEDOMS IN THE NAME OF NATIONAL SECURITY

1798

The Alien and Sedition Acts

are passed by Congress as war with France appears imminent. The acts allow deportation and detention of aliens and prohibit malicious writings against the government.



1861

After a series of riots in Maryland, President Lincoln suspends habeas corpus and arrests dissidents. This suspension is also used to detain influential citizens and lawmakers sympathetic to the South to prevent the state from seceding.



1863

The Habeas Corpus Act permits suspension of habeas corpus by order of the President for the duration of the Civil War, allowing Lincoln to free or detain prisoners without trial and with impunity.

1917-18

The Espionage and Sedition Acts impose severe penalties for any speech, statement or article written against or interfering with the government in wartime. As a result, union leader Eugene V. Debs is sentenced to 10 years in prison for giving an antiwar speech.

Not-So-Big Brother

WHAT TO MAKE OF TAMERLAN'S RADICALIZATION, however, and whether it should have been monitored and acted upon, became the subject of angry debate in Washington within days of his death. The failure to detect the brothers' plot seemed to some like a replay of 9/11, when communication failures between U.S. intelligence and law-enforcement services blew a chance to stop the attacks. "There still seem to be serious problems with sharing information, including critical investigative information," said GOP Senator Susan Collins, a member of the Senate Intelligence Committee.

In fact, if there was any interagency problem this time around, it may have been oversharing. After the Russians flagged Tamerlan as a concern in the spring of 2011, U.S. officials put his name on the National Counterterrorism Center's Terrorist Identities Datamart Environment list (TIDE). Nominally a clearinghouse for names of possible or suspected terrorists, the TIDE list has become more of an interagency dumping ground. With more than 740,000 names, it is rarely consulted or monitored by U.S. investigators.

The harder question raised by the Tsarnaev case is how deep into his private life investigators would have had to go in order to piece together the brothers' plot. America redrew the boundaries between privacy and security in the years after 9/11. Rather than create a powerful new domestic intelligence agency, like those in Canada and the U.K., the U.S. decided to give the FBI increased powers. That meant entirely

new rules for domestic counterterrorism investigations, which were unveiled in 2008 under George W. Bush's last Attorney General, Michael Mukasey. The rules broke down the divide between strictly criminal and more wide-ranging national-security investigations, allowing FBI agents to hunt terrorists with all the authority available to both criminal and national-security officials. They also granted the FBI the power to investigate more aggressively and preemptively, allowing for action even on the basis of thin evidence, with the goal of breaking up terrorist plots before their execution. It was a little noticed but significant change in the way the FBI did business.

After a 2008 presidential campaign in which he vowed to hunt down al-Qaeda leaders overseas, Barack Obama took office having said little about domestic terrorism. He soon found that the threat at home was growing. Where authorities had identified a total of 21 homegrown jihadist-inspired terrorist plots and two attacks in the eight years after 9/11, U.S. law enforcement made 42 arrests from May 2009 to December 2012. Those arrested included Faisal Shahzad, whose SUV bomb nearly exploded on a Saturday night in New York City's Times Square, and Army major Nidal Hasan, who allegedly killed 13 people in a November 2009 shooting rampage at Fort Hood in Texas. When the Administration issued its new FBI guidelines in 2011, it expanded many of the bureau's terrorist-hunting powers.

But it cranked others back. The Obama team's core strategy for rooting out home-

grown Muslim extremists was to gain the trust of Muslim communities. The White House created a new position on its National Security Council staff for Quintan Wiktorowicz, an expert on Muslim radicalization, who has interviewed hundreds of Islamists in Europe. A top aide, Denis McDonough, visited a Virginia mosque in 2011 to promote the strategy. "The most effective voices against al-Qaeda's warped worldview and interpretation of Islam are other Muslims," McDonough, now Obama's chief of staff, said.

This attitude helped inform the 2011 investigative guidelines. So, perhaps, did Muslim-American anger over alleged ethnic and religious profiling. Earlier that year, for instance, the ACLU and the Council on American-Islamic Relations sued the FBI for violating the civil rights of Muslims in Southern California by hiring an undercover agent to infiltrate mosques there and conduct what the plaintiffs claimed was "indiscriminate surveillance." Under the new guidelines, an agent wanting to "identify, obtain and utilize information about actual or potential national security threats" in a mosque showing he had a specific reason to believe something untoward was happening there had to get approval from the special agent in charge of his region. And if agents wanted to go in undercover, they'd have to get permission from the newly created SORC, the special committee in Washington. Most of the details of the SORC remain classified, including the names of its chair, members and staff, its process for



1942

◀ In the wake of Pearl Harbor and amid growing anti-Japanese sentiment, FDR authorizes the relocation and internment of more than 120,000 people of Japanese descent.

1947

Unnerved by the possibility of Soviet infiltration, President Truman establishes the **Federal Employee Loyalty Program**, requiring all government employees to sign loyalty oaths and submit to loyalty investigations.

2001

▼ Congress passes the **USA Patriot Act** by a near unanimous vote in response to 9/11. Law-enforcement officials gain sweeping powers to search without warrants, eavesdrop, and detain and deport terrorism suspects.



2011

President Obama gives **federal agents new powers** to data-mine terrorism suspects' devices and communications and delay reading of Miranda rights to suspects under arrest as well as new surveillance powers and the right to interview witnesses without identifying themselves as FBI agents. But Obama also backs off closer surveillance of mosques in the U.S.

reviewing requests and overseeing investigations and its ability to issue emergency authorizations.

These new authorities came into effect only after the FBI checked out Tamerlan in the spring and early summer of 2011. In that assessment, the FBI didn't conduct surveillance on Tamerlan, scour the trash of potential sources or interview those who knew him without identifying themselves as fed, according to a senior law-enforcement official familiar with the investigation. Had they pushed harder and turned up troubling evidence, they might have won permission to wiretap his phone or even sought a warrant from the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act court, which oversees sensitive investigations against foreign spies and terrorists. "If you surveilled him for six months, maybe it would have turned something up," says the senior law-enforcement source. "You never know. But everything now suggests it just wasn't there in the spring of 2011."

What kind of blanket monitoring might flag an emerging radical like Ta-

merlan? Officials in New York City point to their extensive counterterrorism program, which looks specifically for signs of behavioral changes that suggest radicalization. Last year an Associated Press investigation revealed how a New York Police Department intelligence unit, led by an active-duty CIA official, employed a diverse group of undercover officers, called "rakers," who assimilated into ethnic communities and university campuses looking for "hot spots"—cafés, mosques and other local hangouts they could tie to potential extremism.

It's possible such a program would have exposed Tamerlan's warping mind. Although his mosque says he never "expressed any hint of violent sentiments or behavior" and insists it would have contacted the FBI if he had, a law-enforcement observer who knew about his twin outbursts might have acted. Among domestic radicals with violent ambitions, "some behaviors repeat time and time again," says Mitchell Silber, a former New York Police Department counterterrorism official.

"One of those is a break with the mosque."

But the type of intense ground-level sleuthing practiced by the NYPD can carry a steep cost. The AP's revelations, which won it a Pulitzer Prize, drew furious protests over privacy and profiling and may have cost the NYPD trust among local Muslims. An NYPD official "testified that the information collected through the NYPD's program did not produce any leads for terrorism investigations," says Anthony Romero, executive director of the ACLU. "Instead, predictably, the NYPD's actions wrongly stigmatized law-abiding Muslims." For its part, the Boston Police Department says it does not surveil Muslim worship. "We don't do racial profiling, or any kind of profiling that would target mosques," a Boston police spokesperson tells TIME.

The Obama White House continues to believe that cooperating with Muslim communities is crucial to detecting radicals. "You are actually better able to protect our security if you can enlist mosques and Muslim communities as our partners," says Ben Rhodes, a deputy national security adviser to Obama. "There is no substitute for having people in these communities who will come forward." That's what happened in November 2010, when a bomb plot in Portland, Ore., was foiled after a local teenager's father tipped off authorities to his son's growing fixation with jihad. In an April 30 press conference, Obama said he had urged his aides to continue "engaging with communities where there's a potential for

A NEW POLL SHOWS THAT BIG MAJORITIES
FAVOR USING FACIAL-RECOGNITION
TECHNOLOGY TO SCAN FOR SUSPECTED
TERRORISTS AT PUBLIC EVENTS

self-radicalization of this sort," adding, "But all of this has to be done in the context of our laws, due process."

As Washington debates what lessons to draw from Boston, Americans say they're more concerned about protecting liberty than attaining perfect security. Support for public surveillance cameras may be up substantially over the past decade, but Americans are warier than ever about government monitoring of their private cellphone and e-mail communications, with 59% opposed to such actions.

Can we ever achieve perfect security? "Even if we wanted to, we could not investigate every radical in this country," says Philip Mudd, former top CIA and FBI terrorist hunter. But we don't want to: "The Founding Fathers were radical," Mudd says, and therefore, "We've got a Constitution that says you can be a radical here. Speak however you want to speak."

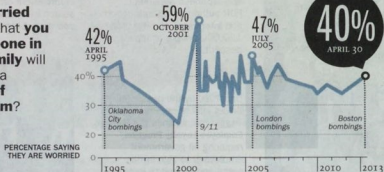
One thing we would certainly get for trying to exchange liberty for security is more lawsuits. But we may assume we have more protected rights than we do. The Bill of Rights is explicit about a lot of things, but it is silent on the subject of privacy (though the Supreme Court has found a privacy right implicit in the Constitution). And while the Fourth Amendment prevents unreasonable searches, it seems fair to ask what's a reasonable search in a world where a lone actor can create a bomb from a pressure cooker. Perhaps the greatest Constitutional concern should be equal protection under the law: do we unfairly target Muslims if we look for those who break with an imam but not those who disagree with their pastor?

Many intelligence professionals are resigned to the idea that just as we'll never stop every deranged school shooter, we simply won't catch everyone with a violent ideology and some explosives. Not while we refuse to make it easy for the government to snoop through our e-mails and phone records. And not if we agree that it's wrong to spy on places of worship that on exceedingly rare occasions attract people who can do tremendous harm. "We may find this was preventable," says former CIA chief Michael Hayden. "But let me also tell you, this was inevitable." The same could be said for our struggle to find the right balance between liberty and security. —WITH REPORTING BY ALEX

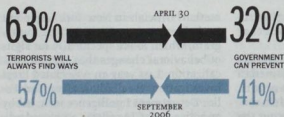
ALTMAN, ZEKE MILLER, ALEX ROGERS AND MICHAEL SCHERER/WASHINGTON AND SIMON SHUSTER/DAGESTAN ■

TIME/CNN/ORC Poll. Americans seek a balance between security and freedom

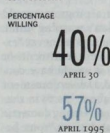
How **worried** are you that **you** or **someone in your family** will become a **victim of terrorism**?



Will terrorists **always find ways to launch major attacks** no matter what the U.S. government does, or can the U.S. government **eventually prevent all major attacks** if it works hard enough?



Would you be willing to **give up some civil liberties** if that were necessary to **curb terrorism**?



27% say they are **less likely to attend large public events** in the future to avoid being a victim of terrorism

What concerns you more: that the government will **fail to enact strong new antiterrorism policies** or that it will **enact new antiterrorism policies that will excessively restrict civil liberties**?



Do you **favor these increased powers of investigation** that law-enforcement agencies might use when dealing with suspected terrorists, which would also affect civil liberties?

SURVEILLANCE BY CAMERA OF STREETS AND OTHER PUBLIC PLACES



MONITORING OF CELL PHONES AND E-MAIL



MONITORING OF INTERNET CHAT ROOMS AND FORUMS



USE OF FACIAL RECOGNITION TECHNOLOGY TO SCAN PUBLIC EVENTS



This TIME/CNN/ORC International poll was conducted by telephone April 30 among a random sample of 606 adult Americans (446 by landline, 160 by cell phone). The margin of error is ± 4 percentage points. Historical trends from CNN/USA Today/Gallup, Los Angeles Times and Harris Interactive.

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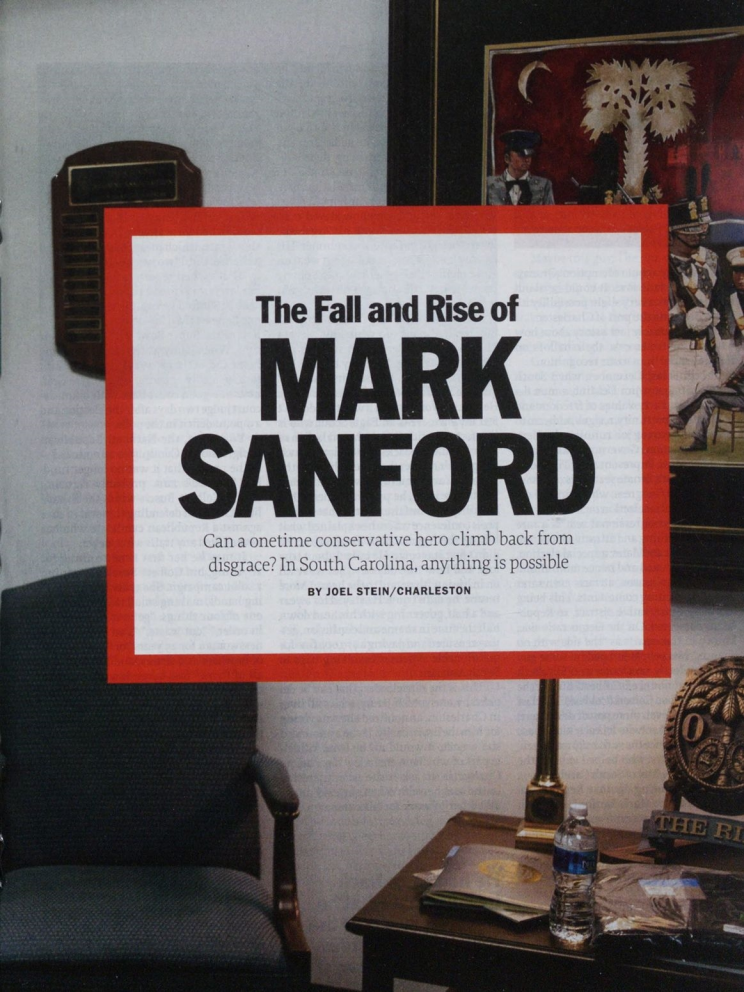
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Redeemable? *Former South Carolina governor Mark Sanford in Charleston; he is vying for an open seat in Congress*

Photographs by T.J. Kirkpatrick for TIME

The background of the page is a photograph of an office. On the left, a wooden plaque hangs on a light-colored wall. In the center, a large red rectangular frame contains the article's title and byline. To the right, a framed painting depicts a man in a military uniform standing next to a large, stylized white tree against a dark background with a crescent moon. Below the painting, a person in a military uniform is seated. In the foreground, a dark wooden desk holds a water bottle, some papers, and a circular object with the number '0' and the words 'THE RI'.

The Fall and Rise of **MARK SANFORD**

Can a onetime conservative hero climb back from disgrace? In South Carolina, anything is possible

BY JOEL STEIN/CHARLESTON



This is a story about redemption. Or maybe it's about true love. It could be about hubris. There's a very slight possibility it's about dredging the port of Charleston.

But it's probably just a story about how voters sometimes cast their ballots on nothing more than name recognition.

It begins last December, when South Carolina Senator Jim DeMint, a man devoted to Tea Party values of freedom and economic opportunity, resigns midterm to grab a high-paying job running the Heritage Foundation. Governor Nikki Haley then appoints Representative Tim Scott to fill DeMint's Senate seat. This opens up Scott's gig in Congress, which will be decided in a special election on May 7.

An open congressional seat is a rare and exciting thing and attracts a lot of rare and exciting candidates; a special election, with its shortened and hence more affordable campaign season, attracts even rarer and more exciting contestants. This being a heavily conservative district, 16 Republicans competed. On the Democratic side, known in these parts as "the side with no chance," two people jumped in: some guy with absolutely no chance and Elizabeth Colbert (pronounced Col-bert) Busch, the sister of Stephen Colbert (Col-bear). That last name carries even more power down here, since their father (who let each kid choose how to pronounce the surname) was a well-respected doctor who helped expand the Medical University of South Carolina.

She is running against Republican-runoff winner Mark Sanford, the man who held this very seat from 1995 to 2001, before becoming governor in 2003, before being a much mentioned potential 2012 presidential candidate and before going dark for six days in 2009—his whereabouts unknown to his family, staff or law enforcement—when he was "hiking the Appalachian Trail," before that phrase came to mean "cheating on my wife with a very sexy journalist in Argentina."

Sanford managed to serve out his term, but just barely. "It would not take a rocket

scientist to say politics was over for me," he says, grinding extra salt onto his tortilla chips and sipping a Coke at a giant Mexican restaurant next to a highway in Hilton Head. "We take sinners out in body bags in South Carolina." Then, he adds, "miraculously, this seat opens up in my district."

It is an insane thing to do, to re-enter politics after public self-immolation. Sanford is not Bill Clinton or Anthony Weiner, who repented and somehow stayed married. This dude is still with his Argentine lover; they got engaged last summer. His ex-wife Jenny wrote a book about what an emotionally clueless, selfish, cheap phony he is. He has a disapproval rating of 56% in his district.

But Sanford, 52, long-faced, a little too tan, teeth a shade too white, his pleated khakis two decades out of style, is immensely charming. Like way beyond Bill Clinton charming. He asks just the right questions about you. His eyes water easily. He touches your arm in a way that doesn't feel invasive. He is an Eagle Scout who is comfortable with those who make fun of Eagle Scouts. He lacks pretension to such a degree that when he orders, he asks the waitress for "something with chicken." Most surprising, he projects honesty. His humility feels unfake. Even at that surreal press conference where he explained what hiking the Appalachian Trail meant, he didn't just apologize. He talked about true love and how "the odyssey that we're all on in life is with regard to the heart." More insane, he didn't quit. He stayed for a year and a half, governing with his head down half the time in shame and confusion, getting censured and paying a \$70,000 fine for questionable expenses involving trips to South America.

This is the rare election that can be decided by one vote. If Jenny, who still lives in Charleston, announced she was voting for him, he'd win easily. If she announced she wasn't, it would all be over. Which is part of why he went, a few days before Christmas, to ask if she was interested in the seat herself. When she said no, he asked her to work for his campaign. She

apparently thought that was as insane as you do now.

A former investment banker, Jenny ran her husband's campaigns brilliantly and still advises Governor Haley. People thought Jenny might have run for governor herself, and some Republicans say she was offered the Senate seat before Scott was, though a GOP source close to Haley will say only that she was on the governor's short list. Jenny had been saying she wouldn't endorse anyone in this congressional race, which meant Sanford still had a chance. Until two weeks ago.

That's when reporters found out that her lawyer had filed a complaint on Feb. 4 against Sanford for coming to her house—one he never lived in—to watch the second half of the Super Bowl with one of their sons. When Jenny wasn't there. She came home and, in the backyard, exoriated him for repeatedly showing up uninvited. So now he's got a court date with a family-court judge two days after the election and a 9-point deficit in the polls.

Worse yet, the National Republican Congressional Committee announced—to the press—that it was no longer funding Sanford's run, probably figuring that if Colbert Busch wins, she'll have little chance of defending that seat in 2014 against a Republican candidate who has never hiked any trails whatsoever.

It may be her first time running for anything, but Colbert Busch is running a solid campaign. She truly enjoys shaking hands, making small talk and saying one of four things: "get our fiscal house in order," "cut waste," "I've been a businesswoman for 25 years" or "I've got a lot of brothers and sisters, and I'm proud of all of them." She takes down the phone numbers of kids who are into math and science and, after a day of fundraising calls, will call a few and ask if they've done their homework. She agreed to only one debate, on April 29, in which she talked a lot about the importance of dredging the port of Charleston. She can't say much because even a phrase like "I work connecting alternative energy to the university I work at" contains two words that won't go over well in a district that hasn't been represented by a Democrat since 1981. And especially not in a special election, which typically has low turnout, and low turnout is never good for Democrats. So she's issued statements about how Obama's budget and the assault-weapons ban suck. She's deleted tweets supporting gay marriage and abortion rights. She's had brother Stephen do some fundraisers, but it's likely that she doesn't mention him too

'He had to go back to work. It's what he does. He's one of the bravest guys I know. Who would go back?'

—SARAH SANFORD, MARK'S SISTER



The newcomer Elizabeth Colbert Busch, sister of comedian Stephen Colbert, criticized Sanford in their April 29 debate for his Argentine affair

much because many of the district's voters think he's too left wing.

I followed her around all day, from a speech to a farmers' market to a business-leader-and-Pat Conroy lunch to a soft-shell-crab festival, and I can attest to the fact that she never said anything dumb. Or interesting. A smart, likable 58-year-old in a leopard-print car jacket with blown-out, highlighted hair and an easy laugh, she has her own tragic backstory she doesn't use. Her first marriage was even worse than Sanford's: her husband also wound up on TV, on *America's Most Wanted*, for securities fraud.

Colbert Busch may have gotten nearly \$800,000 from the Democrats, but Sanford's campaign is much better. He puts out folksy ads with his cell-phone number in them. Many of his campaign signs are huge pieces of plywood he bought cheap or got from dumpsters, sloppily spray-painted in black with these words: SANFORD SAVES TAX \$. Some have a piece of paper stapled to them reading SAY NO TO PELOSI. These are campaign signs of the Great Recession, implying that right beyond these beautiful South Carolina coastal roads is a squirrel-eating, *Mad Max* society so desperate, it is willing to turn to Mark Sanford to save it.

His other advantage is that he doesn't have to struggle with name recognition. He's not governor-famous; he's El channel-famous. He thought people would walk up to him during this campaign and tell him

what a horrible philanderer and hypocrite he is, but here at the Mexican joint, it's all warm support, as if South Carolina is populated solely by various incarnations of Oprah Winfrey. People, Sanford says, rarely bring up his scandal, and when they do, it's to tell him about how everyone goes through hard times or to confess their own transgressions. It seems like the 56% who disapprove of Sanford in South Carolina are very polite about it in public. As a broken man who "cratered," he says, he's better at empathizing with people whose problems are different from his own. "I'm still a diehard conservative. But if I make it, I'm going to be far less strident in my advocacy of those beliefs," he says. "This is real life. The problem with that past part of life is that you pretend to be perfect, and I pretend to be perfect, and we're not having a real conversation."

As governor, his diehard conservative credentials were just about perfect. He brought pigs into the House of Representatives in protest of the chamber's 105 overrides of the 106 budgets he vetoed because of pork—and this was a Republican-dominated legislature. He was the first governor to turn down stimulus money. The Cato Institute ranked him as the nation's top governor on its 2010 fiscal report card.

After his term as governor ended, he escaped the late-night jokes by moving to his 3,000-acre family plantation, where he built a pine cabin by hand. And kept his head down. "As a man, part of your worth is having the phone ring. People weren't seeking your opinion on some matter.

They weren't returning your e-mail. The phone is dead," he said of his year and a half on his own personal Walden. But recently the phone has started ringing: he's become a contributor on Fox News and got work doing real estate deals again. I run into his sister Sarah, a former host of Outdoor Life Network programs, twice—at the farmers' market and then again at the crabfest—and she tells me she advised him to run. "He had to go back to work. It's what he does," she said. "He's one of the bravest guys I know. Who would go back?"

Maybe this guy. The one who looks up at every person walking past our table and, if they catch his eye for just one second, stands up and shakes their hand. "I always watch eyeballs. I don't want someone to recognize me and for me not to pay the respect of talking to them," he says.

He took his sons to a University of South Carolina football game, and they got annoyed that he kept stopping to take photos with people, keeping them from their seats, the game and their dad. "I told my boys, 'I will stand taking pictures as long as anyone wants to take my picture. These people kept me in office. They're what kept them from impeaching me.'" I ask if his boys were pleased with that answer. "They understood intellectually, I suppose. But there's a difference between that and feeling it."

Neither Jenny nor Mark Sanford will talk on the record about each other, because they don't want to make this any worse than it already is on their children. And even if they did, it's impossible to know what goes on in a successful marriage, much less a broken marriage, and way less a broken political marriage.

Much less two. A new group, Republicans for Colbert Busch, is being organized by Leslie Turner, who had an ugly divorce from Teddy Turner, who lost to Sanford in the primary. Politics in the Palmetto State is more tangled than a backyard of kudzu.


It's easy to dismiss Sanford as a cad and his comeback as the by-product of a particularly narcissistic personality. But if he wins next week, it would hardly be the first time a politician long given up for dead mounted an impossible comeback. It's overwhelmingly complicated—the allegations from exes, the fact that the blood-red low country would put a stained man's unimpeachable conservative credentials up against a newcomer who's famous for having a brother who mocks men with unimpeachable conservative credentials.

It's all so confusing that I can see why people just vote for the name that's most familiar.



The big handle At Keeneland, a premier track in Lexington, Ky., the stakes can run to \$750,000

Photographs by Jehad Nga for TIME



TWILIGHT AT THE TRACK

RACECOURSES ARE CLOSING, PURSES ARE DWINDLING,
AND BREEDERS ARE FINDING OTHER WORK.
SAVING THOROUGHBRED RACING WILL REQUIRE INNOVATION, TECHNOLOGY
AND ABOVE ALL, A LOVE OF HORSES

BY DAVID VON DREHLE

IN THE CENTER ISLAND OF a sleepy cul-de-sac in my suburban Kansas City, Mo., neighborhood, a pair of huge stone markers stand in memory of two horses buried beneath the stones. LAWLRIN, one stone announces solemnly. A darkly handsome Thoroughbred with matching white socks on his forelegs, Lawrin charged from the pack at Churchill Downs to win the 1938 Kentucky Derby by a length with a 22-year-old Eddie Arcaro on his back. Though Arcaro went on to become an international celebrity, the only jockey to win two Triple Crowns, he would go to his own grave saying Lawrin's run for the roses was the most thrilling ride of his career. Next to Lawrin lies his father Insko, who passed down the genes of his own pop, the great Sir Gallahad, one of two horses to sire three Derby winners.

Quite a lot of racing history to find planted so far from the shrines of Louisville, Santa Anita or Saratoga. This surviving remnant of the local Woolford Farm stables, where brilliant trainer Ben Jones served a stint on his way to the record books, recalls a time when America was still largely rural, most Americans knew something about horses, and racing was a truly national passion.

But the graveyard on Le Mans Court now says something about the endangered future of Thoroughbred racing. On May 4, the nation's fastest 3-year-olds will enter the starting gate for the 139th running of the spectacle at Churchill Downs. But while a huge crowd in Louisville and a vast TV audience marvel at two minutes of thundering excitement, elsewhere the sport of kings is struggling to avoid being buried—as Lawrin is buried under the march of suburbia—beneath inexorable forces of change.

Tracks are closing. Purses are dwindling. Fewer foals are being bred. Veteran breeders and trainers are hanging up their boots. Once privileged as the primary form of legal gambling in the U.S., horse racing now fights to be noticed in a gaudy arcade where strategy-minded punters choose among games from blackjack to Powerball to fantasy football. The arcane art of handicapping a pari-mutuel wager is downright tedious in an age of

slot-feeding, card-scratching instant gratification. Very few Americans are raised on farms anymore; even fewer feel confident in their understanding of horses. And those who do know and love the animals are finding themselves turned off by the culture of doping in horse racing and the frequent breakdowns that go with it. Add a massive recession and the near paralysis of racing's many-headed management structure, and a once robust pastime is now scrabbling for a future.

As Dan Singer of McKinsey & Co. reported to the Jockey Club—the venerable protectors of the Thoroughbred breed—after completing a head-to-hoof examination of the industry in 2011: “Handle is down 37% ... attendance is down 30%,

starts per horse and race days are both down 14%.” “By any measure,” Singer noted, “Thoroughbred racing has declined over the last decade,” primarily because of “a failure to innovate fast enough and well enough to compete for new fans.” Unless things change significantly, the situation will get much worse over the next decade, McKinsey projects, as horse owners see an already expensive sport submerged in a sea of red ink, while 1 in 4 tracks will be forced to close.

Other sports have also lost some of their audience: ratings for NBA championship games are well off their historic highs, for example, and boxing has lost its grip on the American imagination. People have more entertainment options than ever





End of an era? A view of the infield from the announcer's booth at the Aqueduct Racetrack, a.k.a. the Big A, in Queens, N.Y.

a big purse, thus driving up stud fees for the tiny number of champions.

"Even in today's smaller industry, we are producing around 25,000 foals per year, and only a tiny percentage of those will ever win a graded stakes race," breeder Ted Simendinger told me recently. "Only one will win the Derby. We're selling dreams." And those dreams are more and more expensive, which explains why Simendinger, a small operator, left the business a while back. He tells me of "a buddy who has bred over 250 stakes winners—he's out of it now." He tells me that "it's almost impossible to make money" as an honest breeder. He tells me that cost pressures on breeders too often translate into pressure on trainers to win purses by doping the horses. In short, it just became too hard—and too unseemly—to keep going.

Of course, racing's high costs and long odds are nothing new. It is no accident that the most important man in the sport right now is arguably the Emir of Dubai, with stables of horses across four continents; being superrich has always been an advantage in this game. But even wealthy people like to finish first. Winners bring prestige, they collect prize money, and they command the highest stud fees.

According to some experts, these economic realities encourage breeders to favor horses that are flashy-fast but short on resilience. A small number of wins at ages 2 and 3 can send a horse off to a long and happy retirement. Consider Bernardini, winner of the 2006 Preakness Stakes. The Emir sent him straight from the winner's circle to a stable in Kentucky, where he earns his owner \$150,000 per mating. Being a flash in the pan is now very good business. But it doesn't breed excitement.

There is a great temptation to help these quick but too-often-fragile horses earn their needed wins by dosing them with steroids, painkillers, diuretics and other drugs. But doping can endanger the animals by enabling them to run while injured—too often with fatal results. In a string of outstanding articles published in recent years, racing writer Joe Drape and others at the *New York Times* have

before, and most slices of the pie are getting smaller. But the Thoroughbred-racing business faces such a wide array of challenges that it is reasonable to ask whether the sport will keep shrinking until it is gone or all but gone, as vestigial as polo. Just keep shrinking until—like that postage stamp of history hidden beneath a sleepy traffic island—little remains but the memories.

Squeezed on the Rail

TO UNDERSTAND HORSE RACING'S PREDICAMENT is no simple matter, because what looks at first glance like one business is actually at least four distinct but entangled enterprises. Each one faces its own set of problems and sees its own solutions. And

while a change in one enterprise will send ripples through the others, these factions have a poor record when it comes to making decisions together.

First, there is the business of breeding and training racehorses. This tightly controlled world, governed by the Jockey Club's registry, lives and dies by the fortunes of a relatively small number of champion stallions. Ounce for ounce, the semen of prized studs is among the most expensive substances on the planet, but it carries no guarantees. Most foals never make it to the winner's circle. The average owner gets into the game knowing that he is likely to lose money. To improve his chances at this fool's endeavor, he chases the richest bloodlines in hopes of winning

documented the unsafe and inhumane underbelly of American racing. Summarizing one investigation last year, for example, the newspaper reported: "A computer analysis of data from more than 150,000 races, along with injury reports, drug test results and interviews, shows an industry still mired in a culture of drugs and lax regulation and a fatal breakdown rate that remains far worse than in most of the world." There is something wrong in a sport that kills two dozen of its athletes every week, as horse racing does.

Elsewhere in the world, Thoroughbred racing is doing just fine without resorting to drugs. From Ireland to Australia, from the clamor of Hong Kong to the Downs of England, strong governing authorities enforce strict regulations. Just last month, a prominent trainer was found secretly doping horses. He was immediately fired by the Emir and banned from British racing for a ruinous eight years. In some U.S. jurisdictions, fines for doping are actually smaller than the purses won by the cheating stables.

Death came even to the hallowed Derby in 2008. The filly Eight Belles broke down after finishing second in the race and had to be euthanized. After that, industry leaders launched a campaign to purge the sport of drugs. But the crazy quilt of state legislatures and state racing commissions that set racing rules has so far failed to come up with a uniform code. (In a promising development, the Mid-Atlantic states recently came to agreement on a tough new code, which the Jockey Club's chief, Joe Gagliano, hopes will be a national model.)

Pressures in the breeding business are compounded by decisions made at the tracks. For years, many of these operations have watched their attendance drop as their fan base ages. According to one study, the sport is losing 4% of its fans every year. Such storied venues as Florida's Hialeah Park, California's Bay Meadows and New Jersey's Garden State Park have been forced to close over the past dozen years. In Los Angeles, Hollywood Park—which counted among its original shareholders Walt Disney, Bing Crosby, Sam Goldwyn and Joan Blondell—may be running its last races this year.

Handicapped

Thoroughbred racing faces lengthening odds

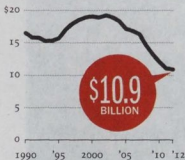
Track attendance is in decline

Number of spectators at the Santa Anita Derby (a prelude to the Kentucky Derby)



Wagering has plummeted

Pari-mutuel handles, in billions of 2012 dollars



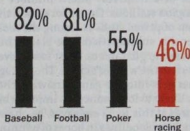
TV coverage of horse racing lags behind that of other minor sports

Televised hours in 2011



Most fans of horse racing don't even recommend it

Percentage of each sport's fans who would recommend that other people follow their sport



To survive, many tracks have added slot machines, video lottery terminals and even casino table games to create what are known in the industry as racinos. The hope was that money from more popular games could be used to create bigger purses, which would spur greater excitement around horse racing and thus attract new fans. But it hasn't always worked that way. The fan base for racing continues to erode, while bigger purses, perversely, heighten the incentives to cheat.

Further, the racino solution is in many respects a surrender pact. It says, essentially, that racing can no longer stand on its own four feet and must be propped up by other revenue. At some of the most lucrative racinos, the horses are practically an afterthought—albeit a very expensive one.

If the sport is to be rescued, though, gambling will undoubtedly be part of the solution, because it remains racing's most lucrative business. Industry leaders see promise in the rise of online betting, which Gagliano told me in a recent interview is a multibillion-dollar proposition—and growing. "It's no longer solely about fannies in seats," he said.

Properly managed, online wagering could help save the sport. To thrive, the online universe needs clean, fair competition. Online gamblers can visit tracks across the country and around the world from their kitchen tables; common sense says they will prefer the places where they won't lose to cheaters. Well-run, well-regulated tracks, at home and abroad, will have the edge. This is why Churchill Downs and the other Triple Crown race tracks have installed elaborate surveillance systems to keep a careful eye on the treatment of horses entered in their signature races.

With so much potential to expand the audience, the Internet might also push the sport to improve its marketing—something the more enlightened industry leaders have been attempting to do in recent years. Under the brand name America's Best Racing, they have launched websites, designed social games, even loaded a team of fresh-faced young people onto a tour bus to visit such buzzy scenes as the SXSW festival in Austin and Miami's South Beach in winter: Up With Horses, you might say. What remains to be done



is to persuade the owners to seek more durable horses and keep them running year by year. The sensational appeal of Laura Hillenbrand's book *Seabiscuit*, which retold the thrilling story of that underdog Thoroughbred's long rivalry with Triple Crown winner War Admiral, ought to have awakened the industry to the value of horses that the public has time to get to know. "What makes the sport great is the horse itself," says Simendinger.

But a fourth force in racing could thwart such change: the state agencies that regulate the sport and pocket a share of the handle. Faced with strapped budgets and grouchy taxpayers, these fiefs may be reluctant to get on board. Even commonsense reforms are likely to lead to fewer tracks, fewer (and stronger) horses and shorter seasons packed with more exciting races. Gagliano calls this "a flight to quality," and it is the most promising path to salvation for the industry. In the short term, however, it will also mean a further drop in revenue for those states where unsung horses run at dilapidated tracks in claiming races that are forgotten almost before they are over. The future of racing—if it has one—will be survival of the fittest.

Strong Horses, Large Fields

WHEN YOU TALK ABOUT THE FITTEST IN horse racing, you're talking about Keeneland, the picturesque park in the heart of horse country, Lexington, Ky. The place is so beautiful, it makes your heart canter. And if it feels like a movie set, that's because it is. Much of the film version of *Seabiscuit* was set on the Keeneland grounds. A flight to quality in horse racing will mean, in essence, more tracks like Keeneland—Thoroughbred theme parks where families might take their children, where lovers might go on dates, where sentimentalists might find fuel for fancies of glorious days that never were but should have been. Fans will enter beautiful grounds steeped in racing's rich lore to find clean bathrooms and appetizing restaurants. Going to the track will be an event, with live music and lots of pageantry. The season will be short—Keeneland holds only about 32 days of racing each year, half in spring, half in fall—so that every race can feature strong horses and large fields.

"It's about the integrity of the experience for everyone from the fans to the trainers to the owners to the animals," Keeneland CEO Bill Thomason told me as his spring 2013 meet was drawing to

Survivor A lawn jockey at New York's Belmont Park remains battered months after Hurricane Sandy

a close. When the last race was run on April 26, the results spoke for themselves: A record \$158.6 million was wagered at the track and off-site, a 19% increase over last year. Average daily attendance was over 17,000 for a meet total of 278,000—another record. Despite construction snarls on the road leading to the track, more than 30,000 fans turned out each Saturday, and the meet's most prestigious race, the Blue Grass Stakes, drew the second largest crowd in the 89-year history of the race. The only larger crowd was the one the year before.

The Blue Grass delivered everything Americans once loved about horse racing: the elegant animals, groomed to a high gloss, parading to the starting gate; the coiled power exploding as the gate snapped open; the jockeys steering their mounts through the treacherous pack; and an exhilarating stretch run to victory by a colt named Java's War. This idealized past is the key to a possible future. The only thing better would be a new Triple Crown winner. It's been 35 years since Affirmed turned the trick, and it's time to write some new history. ■

WHAT THEY'LL WEAR TO THE REVOLUTION

UNIQLO'S WELL-MADE, WELL-PRICED CASUAL CLOTHING HAS BECOME A GLOBAL RETAIL PHENOMENON. CAN ITS ICONOCLASTIC CEO BRING SOME OF THAT MAGIC TO JAPAN?

BY MICHAEL SCHUMAN/TOKYO

PHOTOGRAPHS BY GRANT CORNETT FOR TIME



THE MATERIAL
IN THESE
SKINNY JEANS
STRETCHES
DIAGONALLY
AS WELL AS
VERTICALLY



SHORT SOCKS
FROM UNIQLO ARE
LESS THAN HALF
THE PRICE OF
A SIMILAR PAIR
FROM THE GAP



THE FABRIC
IN THESE
BOXERS IS
ENGINEERED
TO WICK AWAY
PERSPIRATION



THIS T-SHIRT'S
UNUSUAL
PATTERN WAS
INSPIRED BY
MUSIC



THIS TOTE-
BAG FABRIC
IS FROM
BRITISH TEXTILE
DESIGNER
CELIA BIRTWELL



UNIQLO'S
DOWN VEST IS
ONE OF ITS
TOP SELLERS
AND COSTS
LESS
THAN \$50



THE STRANGENESS OF Tadashi Yanai is best appreciated in his natural element. Among the gray suits of corporate Japan, the head of Uniqlo stands out like beefsteak on a plate of sushi. In a business culture where senior executives tend to speak in soft monotones, stick to carefully vetted talking points and shuffle uncomfortably at personal questions, Yanai, 64, is as colorful as the T-shirts and sweaters in his stores. Talking so loudly that he draws out his translator, Yanai is bracingly blunt on subjects ranging from the state of the Japanese economy ("We are on the edge of a cliff") to the lackadaisical attitude of the country's youth ("The younger generation relies too much on their parents"). He dresses casually in a plaid shirt and brown pants—his own label, natch—and underlines his brand loyalty by unbuttoning himself mid-interview to show his Uniqlo underwear.

The personal exposure is part of his shtick: Yanai has displayed his underwear to journalists before. But his idiosyncrasy is genuine, and it is key to understanding how Yanai has transformed his family's tiny clothing stores into an international colossus with outlets from London's Oxford Street to Shanghai's West Nanjing Road to New York City's Fifth Avenue. Fast Retailing, Uniqlo's parent company, isn't as big as some of its competitors, such as the Gap and Spain's Inditex, which owns Zara, but it is catching up. While sales at the Gap have remained almost unchanged over the past decade, Fast Retailing's have tripled to \$11.8 billion, propelling Yanai into the ranks of Asia's richest people.

How has Uniqlo managed to sneak up on long-established rivals during a global economic slowdown? It's not just about low prices and marquee stores: walk a block or so to either side of its Fifth Avenue store and you can buy a cheap T-shirt at the Gap or H&M. On a recent afternoon, shoppers emerging from the Uniqlo store told TIME they were drawn by the Japanese brand's reputation for innovative textile technology. "I could have got this

color from Marks & Spencer," said Kasturi Nagarajan, a software engineer visiting from New Delhi, as he fished out what looked like a white standard men's polo shirt. "But I've got two of these at home, and I know they dry quicker and don't stain as much as my other shirts."

Much of Uniqlo's advertising talks up the technology woven into its fabrics. A top-selling item is a down coat thick enough to ward off chilly temperatures but thin enough to crunch into a small bag. Fast Retailing has also developed special fabrics, including a light but insulating material called Heattech, which is fashioned into undershirts and other clothing, and a stretchy cloth for its AIRism line, formulated to be cool on hot days. "The sense of matching engineering with design—that's what makes them special," says Candace Corlett, president of New York City-based consultancy WSL Strategic Retail.

Prophet of the Loom

INEVITABLY, SUCCESS HAS MADE AN ICON of the iconoclast: Yanai is one of the best-known Japanese business leaders since Akio "Walkman" Morita, Sony's charismatic CEO during the country's economic heyday in the 1980s. It has also made him the loudest advocate for change in Japan Inc., one who exhorts other companies to rediscover their entrepreneurial zeal by sweeping away the consensus-based decisionmaking and social niceties that

'EACH ONE OF US NEEDS TO EMBRACE THE CONCEPT OF "CHANGE OR DIE," [OR] THERE WILL BE NO FUTURE FOR US.'

—TADASHI YANAI, HEAD OF UNIQLO

What's in store: Uniqlo's flagship in Tokyo. The company aims to have 200 outlets in the U.S.

sap initiative and creative thinking. "Other Japanese companies advocate globalization, but some of them want to retain their conventional practices," he says. "Each one of us needs to embrace the concept of 'change or die,' [or] there will be no future for us."

The mantra isn't new: management experts have been preaching it to Japanese firms, mostly in vain, for nigh on two decades. But Yanai is a more credible messiah. As the first Japanese brand to break big internationally in decades, Uniqlo represents hope for a return to the nation's golden period, when the likes of Sony, Panasonic, Toyota and Honda had the cachet now enjoyed by Apple and Samsung. Whereas other Japanese CEOs might hesitate to make grand declarations, Yanai says he wants Uniqlo to join the pantheon of Japanese superbrands: "We want to become No. 1 in the world."

Yanai says his fellow businesspeople can create new globe-girdling successes if they embrace the nothing-to-lose spirit that characterized post-World War II Japan. "After the war, people had the guts to go abroad and establish their brands," he says. "Out of the rubble, Sony and Honda started to tap into the rest of the world. So did Panasonic and Toyota." He likens the country's recent economic gloom—Japan was overtaken by China in 2010 as the world's second largest economy—to the pall that hung over it in the 1950s but sees that as a chance for renewal: "This is another opportunity to stand up against defeat."

Yanai's call to action isn't very welcome in the halls of the major corporations, where managers who slaved their entire lives crawling up the corporate ladder are deeply invested in the current bureaucratic systems. Unlike the go-getters of the 1960s, Japanese have become terrified of taking the risks crucial to rebuilding their businesses. "The obstacle is that losing face is a terrible thing culturally," says Kenneth Grossberg, a marketing professor at Tokyo's Waseda University. "One reason



Japanese culture is so risk-averse is that they are ridiculed for their mistakes. I think it will prevent companies from globalizing successfully."

Newer entrepreneurs, on the other hand, are more Yanai-like in their outlook. Online retailer Rakuten is boldly expanding outside Japan and created a stir by adopting English as its official language. Haruto Shiroma, founder of Mediwill, which helps patients collect information about doctors online, cites Yanai as an inspiration. "If we want to invent innovative products, we can't make it happen without strong leadership like Yanai-san's," he says.

Birth of a Brand

YANAI TAKES "CHANGE OR DIE" SERIOUSLY: a framed sheet of paper bearing the maxim in English hangs in the corridor outside his large but utilitarian office in an otherwise nondescript building in Tokyo's Akasaka district. He talks of the times he faced that choice. He inherited his parents' menswear stores in his native Ube, a small town in a coal-mining region of Yamaguchi prefecture. Yanai had grown up above the first shop, but by the time he took over, the business was in trouble: customers were departing for better opportunities in Japan's booming new industrial centers. If he didn't follow, the business couldn't possibly thrive. So in 1984, Yanai opened a store in Hiroshima, selling casual wear. He called the new shop Unique Clothing Warehouse, abbreviating it a year later to Uniqlo.

Japan's retail industry was dominated by big department stores supplied by a network of designers, producers, wholesalers and distributors. Inspired by the Gap, Yanai shunted aside this cozy, high-cost arrangement and took control of the entire process, from design to production to distribution, ringing down prices for customers. He outsourced production to factories in China and passed most of those savings on to shoppers whose spending power was constrained by the economic downturn. Uniqlo's first big hit was a fleece jacket launched in 1998



Clothes make the man Yanai's preference for casual wear sets him apart in Japan Inc.

at a price of only 1,900 yen, about \$15. By comparison, the average men's shirt cost roughly \$40 at the time.

Uniqlo's supply-chain management meant that Yanai could control quality as carefully as costs. As a result, Uniqlo's appeal was not limited to those looking for a bargain. "Yanai and Uniqlo made a revolution" in Japan, says Kensuke Kojima, a fashion-business consultant in Tokyo and author of the book *Uniqlo Syndrome*. The brand's cachet is so broad, Kojima says, that "rich people, poor people, everyone wears Uniqlo." Sales topped \$2 billion for the first time in 2000.

While Uniqlo's growth at home progressed apace, Yanai stumbled in some of his early forays into foreign markets. In 2005, Uniqlo launched its first three U.S. outlets in shopping malls in New Jersey, where nobody had heard of the brand. By 2006, all three were shuttered. Yanai tried again in 2011, this time choosing prime real estate like New York City's Fifth Avenue. A high-visibility advertising campaign featuring Orlando Bloom and Charlize Theron ensured that the brand was no longer unknown. Uniqlo now has seven outlets in the U.S. and is aiming for 200 by 2020.

Hands-On Honcho

THE RAPID EXPANSION OF HIS BUSINESS hasn't changed the way Yanai runs his company. In the most notable departure

from the norm, he has eschewed the typical Japanese style of managing by consensus. "Yanai sees traditional Japanese management practices as a bottleneck," says Takayuki Kito, a partner at consulting firm Roland Berger in Tokyo. He single-handedly dictates the firm's direction and is especially hands-on in design and marketing. Yanai approves every marketing slogan—sometimes doing a last-minute rewrite himself—and (a rarity for Japanese CEOs) occasionally drops in unannounced at Uniqlo outlets for a personal look at the displays and service.

Yanai has even less patience with standard Japanese labor practices. In Japan's "salaryman" system, workers usually spend their entire careers at the first firm they join. Not so at Fast Retailing, which often hires people overlooked by other companies, such as workers switching jobs midcareer and those who have experience abroad. Uniqlo even has placed foreign nationals in senior positions, which is unusual for a Japanese company.

Not everyone regards Yanai as an enlightened employer. Japanese media have run stories saying his workers complain about long hours, exacting standards and high stress. Such reports have given Uniqlo a reputation as a "black company" that mistreats workers. Masahiro Watanabe, a journalist who has written extensively on the labor practices at Fast Retailing and other firms, says the way Yanai treats his staff is simply un-Japanese. "Traditional Japanese companies treat their employees as family," he says. "Uniqlo thinks employees are only parts and something replaceable."

Yanai is unsympathetic. Japanese workers, he says, "never work long hours. That's the problem." It's a symptom, he adds, of a larger malaise, which stems from Japan Inc.'s successes of the 1980s: "Japan got rich, then it got spoiled." If they don't change, there's a sign outside his office he'd like them to read.

—WITH REPORTING BY ANDREW KATZ AND CHRIS MATTHEWS/NEW YORK AND CHIE KOBAYASHI/TOKYO

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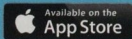
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Reality-TV patriarch,
duck-call entrepreneur
and newly minted author

Phil Robertson

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The Culture

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Photograph by Brady Fontenot for TIME

Pop Chart



POP-STAR EDITION

GOOD WEEK/
BAD WEEK

Backstreet Boys

Praised for getting a star on the Hollywood Walk of Fame

Justin Bieber

Mocked after Swedish police found drugs and a stun gun on his tour bus



SPORTS

The Rio Rattle

Vuvuzelas are so 2010. As the 2014 World Cup approaches, Brazil is trumpeting a nouveau noisemaker: the *caxirola*. The palm-size instrument won't be as annoying as its predecessor, though: It's meant to sound like maracas. Shake on, soccer fans.



DREAM TEAM Anton Corbijn took his first photographs of singer-songwriter Tom Waits in Holland in 1977. Thirty-six years later, the duo—who've been collaborating ever since—have released *Waits/Corbijn*, a coffee-table book featuring more than 200 pages of Corbijn's portraits (including one of Waits in Monte Rio, Calif., in 2006, above) as well as some 50 pages of musings and photos taken by Waits.

TRENDING

@billclinton



The 42nd President is finally active on Twitter, thanks to Stephen Colbert and daughter Chelsea. "Where else can you hear from @BillGates... [and] @Usher in one day?" he posted. "#thisisgreat"

CROWDSOURCED

The Next 'Toon Talk-Show Host

Fallon, Kimmel, Letterman... Crunch? Yep, the famed cereal Cap'n will host his own late-night talk show as part of a series of branded YouTube clips. Which other great 'toons should follow suit? Here's what @TIME's Twitter followers think:

EDNA MODE FROM
THE INCREDIBLES

"She's smart and witty and has zero tolerance for capes."

—@Sir_AmirSyarif

TIMON AND PUMBA

"It would easily be the best morning show out there. Sorry, Kathie Lee and Hoda."

—@SpencerSiddons



QUICK TALK

Amy Schumer

Six years after breaking out on NBC's *Last Comic Standing*, Schumer is making waves on *Inside Amy Schumer*, an edgy new sketch-comedy series on Comedy Central (Tuesdays at 10:30 p.m. E.T.). Here, the 31-year-old former bartender talks with TIME. —DAN MACSAI

The promotional posters for your show feature you comically flashing the camera.

Was that your idea? Actually, Comedy Central pitched a nip slip. I think they thought maybe I was gonna be like, No, But I was like ... **Let's do both?** Yeah. Like, who has two of their boobs pop out? It never happens!

Inside Amy is on after the Web-clip show Tosh.0, which has a mostly young male audience. But you—

I'm really trying to get women, and just smart people, to head over there and give my show a chance, because I think it's worth that. Like, I did NPR this morning. I'm tryin'. **What sets your comedy apart?** My comedy is unapologetic and fearless. Like, sometimes you'll wind up having condomless sex with someone that you probably shouldn't. I'm interested in sharing that part of myself unapologetically so that other people will hopefully feel better. **I read you're Senator Chuck Schumer's second cousin. True?** My mom says our dads have the same grandfathers. So I think he is. **Has he ever seen one of your shows?** Absolutely not. But I've run into him over the years. We say hi to each other. He's always really nice. I'm proud to be related to him!





VIVA MEXICAN ART Frida Kahlo and Diego Rivera may have had distinct painting styles—as seen in Kahlo's 1943 self-portrait at right and Rivera's 1937 work above—but they'll remain linked by their Mexican heritage, their decades-long relationship and now an upcoming exhibition at the Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art in Kansas City, Mo. (which also celebrates other Mexican artists). The show, which opens next month, runs through Aug. 18.



OH, PSY

38,409,306

Number of YouTube views South Korean pop star Psy logged in 24 hours with his "Gentleman" music video, breaking the Guinness world record previously held by Invisible Children's *Kony* 2012



STERLING ARCHER

"Well traveled, perpetually tipsy."

—@B_Ballistics

JESSICA RABBIT

"No guest can steal the show."

—@fajaranugera



BUGS BUNNY

"Very inquisitive (What's up, Doc?)."

—@GraphicSmartist

MARVIN THE MARTIAN

"How many other hosts have access to an illudium Q-36 space modulator??"

—@SGRGreg



TECH Friendlier Skies

Calling all in-flight flirts: Virgin America is making it easier to break the mile-high ice with a new seat-back ordering system that allows travelers to buy snacks or drinks for anyone on board. The goal, says founder Richard Branson, is to help you "deplane with a plus-one." How ... romantic?

3 THINGS YOU DON'T HAVE TO WORRY ABOUT THIS WEEK

1. The cultural relevance of Zach Braff. The *Garden* State director funded his follow-up indie flick on Kickstarter, raising \$2 million in three days.

2. Game of Thrones fatigue. The HBO fantasy-drama series just attracted a series-high 5.3 million viewers.

3. Seattle's NBA dominance. An ownership group unanimously voted against relocating the Sacramento Kings to the city that's still mourning the Sonics.

FOR REVIEWS OF THE ICEMAN, IRON MAN 3 AND LOVE IS ALL YOU NEED, VISIT time.com/movies

Beards of Paradise

How a tight-knit family of godly duck hunters shot to reality-TV fame

By Belinda Luscombe

IF YOU DRIVE THE 19 MILES BETWEEN THE single-story tan brick warehouse in West Monroe, La., that is the headquarters of the Duck Commander company to the rustic, ramshackle home of its founder, Phil Robertson, easily the most famous duck caller in the U.S. today, you will pass at least seven churches, some as big as a Holiday Inn and some barely more than a trailer. But don't stop in. Because when you get to the Robertson house, you'll hear a sermon.

More than likely, you'll also get a meal cooked by Mrs. Robertson, known as Miss Kay. If it's breakfast, Miss Kay may still be in her pajama pants, but she'll whip up biscuits and two types of meat and serve jelly made from the mayhaws the couple gathers from the swamps by their home. And there will be other guests. You might eat with the family of Lane Thomas, proprietor of the biggest manufactured-home dealership in Hammond, La. The two families met on the private jet of the company that made the Robertsons' house. Because that's where Big Business types meet.

Robertson, 67, is the patriarch of a fun-loving clan of born-again-Christian duck-call manufacturers. He, his four sons Alan, Willie, Jase and Jep and his brother Si all work for Duck Commander and its less well known deer-hunting business, Buck Commander. Some of their wives, grandkids and in-laws do too. Their calls are well regarded, but their reality show, A&E's *Duck Dynasty*, is what people really like. The Robertsons are the latest multi-generational family to transfix American TV viewers—like the Kardashians, only with Bibles and bullets and bushy, bushy beards.

The show's popularity has taken everyone by surprise, not least Phil. He wasn't a total TV novice; he'd appeared in hunting DVDs and a show for the Outdoor Channel before meeting

with A&E execs. "They told us there would be virtually no hunting," he says, reclining on his camo-patterned La-Z-Boy wearing matching camo pants, shoes and headband. "I didn't think people would watch it. My family is—well, we're basically godly. I didn't think that would work on American television."

Yet in February the third-season premiere of *Duck Dynasty* drew the highest ratings A&E has ever seen, doubling the show's viewers from the previous year. It's the second most watched program on cable after *The Walking Dead*, pulling in 8.4 million viewers, about twice as many as those of the much-obsessed-over *Game of Thrones*. It was the most discussed show on Facebook in 2012. The season finale on April 25 beat *American Idol* in the ratings.

The show follows the antics of a family that got rich through hard labor and ingenuity and now lives the outdoorsman's version of the high life. In a typical episode, a bearded guy, usually Jase or Uncle Si, will do something meatheaded—try to turn the loading bay into a duck pond; handcuff himself to another bearded guy—before his family members join the fray. Willie, who as CEO is the designated grownup, will spend a lot of time looking exasperated. Then they'll eat.

Part of the show's appeal is the family's irresistible backstory, detailed in Phil's new book, *Happy, Happy, Happy: My Life and Legacy as the Duck Commander*. His childhood was, by any measure, primitive. "If you saw a picture of my family in the 1950s, it would've looked like the 1850s," he says. His home had no running water or electricity, and his brothers all slept in the same bed, which made it tough to figure

Homegrown From left, Si, Jase, Phil and Willie say they grew their famous beards for warmth and camouflage during duck season





Here's to You, Mrs. Robertsons. *The women of Duck Dynasty*

MISS KAY
Phil's wife of 49 years,
mother of four, grand-
mother of 14; avid cook



KORIE ROBERTSON
Works at Duck Com-
mander with husband
Willie; raising five kids



MISSY ROBERTSON
Wife of Jase, mother of
three; smaller role on
show, big tweeter



JESSICA ROBERTSON
Wife of Jeptha, mother
of four; got more screen
time in Season 3

out who was the bed wetter (turned out to be Si). Phil enjoys discomfiting folks he deems less hardy, which is everyone, with details of his early years. "We had no commode, just a hole 200 feet behind the cabin," he says. "Our tissue was an old Sears Roebuck catalog."

Phil got a football scholarship to Louisiana Tech and made starting quarterback but decided he'd rather be hunting. "Throwing a touchdown pass was a certain amount of fun," he says, "but not nearly as satisfying as sitting in the woods with my family coaxing the wily mallard to come in so we can have some supper." He handed off to the college's second-string QB, one Terry Bradshaw, whom he recently ran into at an airport. "I hadn't seen him in 44 years. He said, 'Robertson, you rascal. The only difference I can see between you and me is, I've had three wives,'" says Phil. "And I said, 'Well, Terry, if you have another, people might start to think it's you.'"

It's a classic Robertson joke, cutting but affectionate. Miss Kay and Phil married when she was 16 and he was 17; she was pregnant in her senior year of high school. Their sons had a similar upbringing to Phil's; they too shared a large bed until Alan moved into the laundry room. Phil ran a bar, taught school and fished for a living before he got into the duck-call business. Three of the four boys helped make calls in the backyard whenever they weren't in school. "Jase and Willie's fingers were always stained from tung oil," says Alan, the only clean-shaven brother, who joined the company in June after 24 years in the ministry. He calls himself the "chief beard wrangler" or, if he's among believers, "Jacob in a family of Esaus."

Initially, Duck Commander's success was due to a neat little technological advance: the dimpled double reed. Spittle can make the reeds stick together or to the

shaft, so Phil put a little bump in his reeds to keep them separated. In 2006 Willie, the third son, took over the business and brought in partners, including A&E. Suffice it to say, Phil's grandchildren do not share a bedroom. Jase, who is the best caller and hunter after Phil, is in charge of design and quality control. Jep works the camera on the hunting DVDs. Si, a Vietnam vet, appears to have no specific responsibilities. He carries a blue cup of iced tea and speaks in locations that sometimes require subtitles. According to Alan, Si has had 20 marriage proposals since the show started, "mostly from Alabama." (He's already married.)

The family still goes hunting and fishing together—for food and for souls. The night before our breakfast, the whole clan assembled for a fundraiser for a local Christian school. They piled into a church bus and headed across Monroe (pop. 50,000), accompanied by seven police cars, to the swank Bayou DeSiard Country Club, where guests paid \$250 each to stand in line for an hour and get a photo with a bearded guy in camo. After that, the entourage put on a rousing variety show—revival meeting, topped off by a sermon from Phil. He talks about Jesus whether he's in a church, in a casino or at an expo. "To [the producers] my faith is amusing," he says with a smile. "I'm enough of a realist to know it's not going on the show."



Phil's book, named after one of his catchphrases, tells a Moses-of-the-bayou tale of trials, wrong turns and triumph

THE ROBERTSONS MAY LOOK LIKE HILL-billies, but they are no fools. Phil has a patent on his duck call. According to the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service, there are 2.6 million waterfowl hunters in the U.S. Last year, Duck Commander sold 185,000 duck calls. The outlet store that adjoins the factory is so busy that on Fridays and Saturdays, an off-duty deputy sheriff swings by to keep things orderly. And Phil is not the only would-be best-selling author in the family: Willie and his wife Korie have written a book, and Si and Miss Kay have titles coming out, all published by a company started by Korie's parents, the Howards, that is now owned by Simon & Schuster. This is a family that prays together and gets paid together. They're holding out for more money for next season. A&E's chances of prevailing are about the same as a duck's over West Monroe in December.

In person, the Robertsons are more devout and sophisticated than on TV. For a hunter who sleeps with a shotgun in reach, Phil has a surprisingly nuanced view of gun control. He believes that any attempt to limit weapons limits basic freedoms and that "it's the hearts of human beings that are the problem," not guns. But he does note quietly, almost as an aside, that "it just seems to me that a man wouldn't quite need the firepower people possess." The gun cupboard in his living room is empty. Too many guests, Alan explains.

The family's biggest challenge is retaining the appealing down-to-earth togetherness it forged through thick and thin now that times are lusciously thick. Their weapons against the beguilements of Mammon include church, family occasions like the Christian-school fundraiser and lots of hunting. "We have nicer camo and nicer shotguns now, but hunting is hunting," Alan says. "That hasn't changed in 100 years."

Phil is more wary. His second-favorite group of authors, the Founding Fathers, worried about the corruptive power of wealth, and so does he. "My own children in some ways are a culture shock," he says. "Miss Kay and I, there's not but two of us. We don't need a bigger house. But I notice my kids—they built bigger houses. Why would you need that much floor space and that many bathrooms? They probably didn't take the advice of the old patriarch." Not until hunting season at least.

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Movies

Leap Year. Greta Gerwig's star turn as a 27-year-old on the verge

By Lily Rothman

TWENTY-SEVEN IS A DANGEROUS YEAR. It's a lethal age for rock stars (Jimi Hendrix, Janis Joplin, Jim Morrison, Kurt Cobain, Amy Winehouse—all dead at 27). Brainpower starts to decline around 27, or so says a study out of the University of Virginia. And according to actress Greta Gerwig, 27 is the last time you're allowed to ask a guest, "Do you want to see my room?"

Gerwig knows a lot about the importance of being 27. It's the subject of her new film, *Frances Ha* (in limited release May 17), which she stars in and co-wrote with director Noah Baumbach, who is also her boyfriend of a year and a half. The two previously worked together on 2010's *Greenberg*, starring Ben Stiller; after it wrapped, Baumbach e-mailed Gerwig, then 26, to ask what was on her mind as she approached the big 2-7. She responded with a list of thinking patterns (e.g., not believing anyone who's successful could also be insecure) and faux pas (e.g., accidentally insulting a would-be mentor) peculiar to her cohort. That e-mail planted the seeds of *Frances Ha*'s screenplay.

"I felt like I could see the movie already," says Baumbach, 43, best known for the mordant Oscar-nominated drama *The Squid and the Whale* (2005).

In a sense, audiences have seen incarnations of Frances already too. In her most memorable movies, such as *Greenberg* and 2007's *Hannah Takes the Stairs*, Gerwig cemented her indie It-girl status in roles that emphasized the naïveté, awkwardness and indecision of the third decade of life. In *Frances Ha*, these traits become liabilities: Frances' best friendship deteriorates, her dancing career stalls, and she finds herself without a home amid sky-high New York City rents. But the movie never mopes; shot in silvery black-and-white, it's generous toward Frances and her faults (and sunnier than Baumbach's previous films). It doesn't obsess about dating. Frances is full of joy, even in the midst of hardship. When she settles down, it's with herself.

It's been a few years since she sent that fateful e-mail to Baumbach, and Gerwig, now 29, says she can't recall how much of it was based on her own experiences. "So much of writing is like baking a cake," she says. "I can't tell you where the sugar is." One warm April afternoon, she arrives for a look around the New Museum on Manhattan's Lower East Side in a lacy dress and gold-accented wedges, her style miles from Frances' baggy, Elaine Benes-ish aesthetic. Gerwig knows that some viewers confuse her with her characters—and confuse her naturalistic acting style with not acting at all—but she says it doesn't bother her.

"In many ways, Frances is like a comic persona for Greta," Baumbach says. "This is an extreme example, but it's like Inspector Clouseau is to Peter Sellers. It's so her but so not her at the same time." (Her next steps are further from life: she'll act in a film by French director Mia Hansen-Love and then wants to write movies that aren't about white women her own age.)

The links that are "so her" are clear. Frances is a dancer; Gerwig was once serious about ballet and has many dancer friends from her time at Barnard College. Frances is from Sacramento; Gerwig is too. Those are Gerwig's parents playing Frances' folks. (Her mother is a nurse; her father works at a credit union.) Frances learns that the bohemian life she lives by necessity is a game to her well-off friends; Gerwig says paying off her

student loans is what she's proudest of besides making *Frances Ha*.

But while Frances will be forever 27, Gerwig is more of an old soul. Russell Brand, her co-star in 2011's *Arthur*, remembers her looking forward to the golden years. "She hoped to accumulate anecdotes that would be intriguing to future grandchildren," he says, "that they might say of her, 'Grandma's pretty cool.'" She reminds Brand of Diane Keaton, "beautiful and quirky and authentic and fun."

Between the echoes of Keaton, the grayscale palette and the New York City locations, it's easy to tie *Frances Ha* to Woody Allen's *Manhattan*. (Allen cast Gerwig in 2012's *To Rome With Love*.) But Gerwig also gets questions about the affinities between *Frances Ha* and HBO's *Girls*, partly because Frances and Hannah Horvath might get along, partly because Adam Driver plays an oddball cad opposite both. Gerwig is a fan of *Girls* but says that comparing the two projects is like quizzing Bruce Willis about some random action movie. "It speaks to the dearth of stories about women at all," Gerwig says, "that they only have one other example to point to." She bought copies of Sheryl Sandberg's *Lean In* for friends and sees parallels between the male-dominated worlds of filmmaking and tech.

A more apt comparison, Gerwig says, is with Joseph Conrad's *The Shadow-Line*, about a deckhand climbing the ranks to captain. "The title refers to passing a line, like the equator, and not knowing it," she says. "Frances was passing through a shadow line. Around 27 is when it happens. You can only see it in retrospect."

Maybe so, but Gerwig has been anticipating her own breakthrough for a while. Before she made it as an actress—back when she shuffled from her home in Brooklyn to odd jobs in Manhattan—she recited a mantra every time the subway crossed the East River: "I own this city." She laughs about it now. But it worked. ■



CONTENTS UNDER PRESSURE

In *Frances Ha*, Gerwig's character confronts career woes, money worries and a rift with her best friend (Mickey Sumner, left)



Movies

Gatsby's Heirs. An American classic, ceaselessly reborn

IN THE 88 YEARS SINCE THE PUBLICATION of F. Scott Fitzgerald's seminal novel, many artists have tried to adapt, replicate or emulate its lush tragedy of Roaring '20s excess and class striving. With Baz Luhrmann's screen version out May 10, here's a history of great and not-so-great *Gatsbys*.

START HERE



1925

The Great Gatsby is published to positive reviews but poor initial sales.

1926

A silent adaptation of *Gatsby* hits theaters—the cast includes **William Powell**, later of the *Thin Man* series—but the film eventually goes missing and is now considered lost.



1940

Gatsby's hard-drinking party guests had nothing on his creator, **F. Scott Fitzgerald**, whose lifestyle takes its final toll when he dies of a heart attack at 44.

1972

Just as *The Godfather* is becoming a massive hit, **Francis Ford Coppola** does a fast-turnaround rewrite of Paramount's ill-fated *Gatsby*—the auteur's last script-for-hire job.



1961

Richard Yates' novel *Revolutionary Road* appears. Kurt Vonnegut calls it "The Great Gatsby of my time," but it vanishes from print for years. (Future *Gatsby* Leonardo DiCaprio later stars in the film version.)



1958

Breakfast at Tiffany's, Fitzgerald fan **Truman Capote's** flinty riff on *Gatsby*, is a sensation; Paramount later rejects Capote's attempt at a *Gatsby* screenplay.



1949

The latest screen *Gatsby*, **Alan Ladd**, "looks about as comfortable as a gunman at a garden party," TIME's critic sniffs.

1941

Orson Welles unravels his *Gatsby*-indebted masterpiece, *Citizen Kane*, which—like its model—premieres to solid reviews but weak receipts.



1973

Designer **Kenzo Takada's** spring collection, featuring V-neck tennis sweaters and boxy white trousers, is dubbed "the *Gatsby* look" in *Women's Wear Daily*, providing advance publicity for the film starring Robert Redford...

1974

...which opens to tepid box office and reviews—though Ralph Lauren's costumes are a hit, inspiring a jazz-age fashion wave.



1979

"The movie ends where *The Great Gatsby* begins," says **Kris Kristofferson** on the set of *Heaven's Gate*—one of cinema's biggest fiascos.

1999

Dreary is a word the *New York Times* uses for John Harbison's *The Great Gatsby* at the Metropolitan Opera, starring **Dawn Upshaw** as *Gatsby's* love, Daisy.



2007

Mad Men's mysterious, self-invented, sharp-dressed **Don Draper** is a *Gatsby* for the 1960s.



2013

DiCaprio reunites with *Romeo + Juliet* director Baz Luhrmann for the latest *Gatsby*.



2011

An unreleased, 1980s-vintage Japanese **8-bit video game** based on *Gatsby* is purportedly discovered at a yard sale; its provenance is a hoax, but the game is real. (Find it at greatgatsbygame.com.)

2010

The Public Theater in New York City premieres *Gatz*, a dramatic reading of all 48,000-odd words of the novel with a run time of 6½ hours.



2009

On *Entourage*, **Vincent Chase** finds a successful comeback vehicle in the form of a *Gatsby* directed by Martin Scorsese.



2008

Host of *Gatsby*-inspired "white parties," **P. Diddy** advises Hamptons arrivistes to pursue lawn sports: "I liked the idea of croquet because it's a very *Gatsby*-type activity, and I take pride in being a *Gatsby* figure."



Books

Love in the Time of Globalization. A new novel follows two lovers over three continents

By Radhika Jones



THEY MEET AS TEENAGERS, around the same age as Romeo and Juliet. They fall in love. Their families aren't warring, but their love is visa-crossed. When frequent strikes paralyze the university system in Nigeria, Ifemelu gets a scholarship to

study in the U.S. Obinze stays behind. He plans to join her once he graduates, but the blond-bearded man at the embassy in Lagos tells him, "Sorry, you don't qualify."

Time was, that would have been the end of it. In migration stories of old—from Sam Selvon's *The Lonely Londoners* to Jhumpa Lahiri's *The Namesake*—when emigrants left the formerly colonized world for England or the U.S., they took permanent root. But Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie's new novel, *Americanah*, unfolds in the era of globalization, when diaspora is a temporary matter and the land of opportunity is no longer synonymous with the West. As a teenager, Obinze is "besotted with America," he reads American books, he says, "because America is the future." When he and Ifemelu meet again—after years of separation and silence—it's back in Lagos, where he makes his money in real estate. "I considered renovating old houses instead of tearing them down, but it didn't make sense," he says. "We are Third Worlders, and Third Worlders are forward-looking, we like things to be new because our best is still ahead." The future, in other words, migrates too.

Adichie, who was born in Nigeria in 1977 and studied there and in the U.S., populates both sides of the Atlantic richly. From Ifemelu's evangelist mother to the anxious American wife whose kids she babysits to the members of Obinze's work crew in London, where he does menial labor under a documented man's name, the char-

acters in *Americanah* form a vibrant, fully realized world. Chief among the supporting cast is Ifemelu's Aunt Uju, who begins adulthood as the mistress of a Nigerian general and ends up a scrappy New Englander raising her illegitimate son. Her mistakes form a test case for Ifemelu's adventures, and like the best of aunts, Uju never begrudges the lessons.

Though at great ease with her multitude of voices, Adichie succumbs to a few clunky narrative devices. The hair-braiding salon where Ifemelu ponders her past is less convincing as pure setting than as a vehicle for musings on ethnicity and economics; Ifemelu's financial success as a race blogger feels, if technically feasible, a little overblown. But to the extent that this is a novel of

ideas—and it teems with enough thoughts on race, class and gender to stock a yearlong graduate seminar—Adichie is smart about placing them in the context of resonant contemporary history. When Ifemelu and her African-American Yale professor boyfriend bond, it's over Barack Obama, in whose person African-ness and Americanness unite. By the end, Obinze and Ifemelu might qualify as cosmopolitans—boundaryless global citizens. But Adichie knows well that identity and its complications stem as much from one's surroundings as from within. In Lagos,

residents do daily battle with corruption, but they don't suffer the seemingly Western affliction of depression, nor are they constantly confronted by racism, that enduring peculiar institution. It is chastening to see how these afflictions bear on Ifemelu during her time in the U.S., as much a part of her American life as the malls or the turkey wraps. In that sense, Adichie reminds us, to go to America is to confront both its past and one's own. And for some people, to leave it is freedom. ■

CREATIVE ARTS

Adichie won a MacArthur "genius" grant in 2008



The Best of The Rest More of spring's standout fiction



The Woman Upstairs

Claire Messud tells the story of a schoolteacher who has all but given up her artistic dreams until a glamorous friend awakens long-buried passions and ambitions.



NOS4A2

Joe Hill, son of Stephen King, has his father's gift in spades. *NOS4A2* is a masterpiece of horror about a man who takes children to a twisted otherworld and the woman who sets out to stop him.



A Delicate Truth

A British minister orders an unsanctioned counterterrorism raid and then tries to cover up the mess. John le Carré is as angry as ever: the rules of the game have changed since Smiley's day, but the players are no less crooked. —LEV GROSSMAN

Who's in Charge Here?

Los Angeles is full of politically active people. None of us care about voting for mayor



I SPENT A DECADE debating whether to move to Los Angeles, and not once in

my deliberations did I consider the city's government. This, it turned out, made me perfectly suited to live in L.A. In my seven years here, I have not had one conversation about what our mayor does, and I have talked to our mayor several times. There is no social shaming that comes with knowing nothing about local politics. Fewer Angelenos can name the mayor of this city than can name the mayor of Pawnee, Ind., on *Parks and Recreation*. I am assuming here that the cast and writing staff of *Parks and Recreation* know who the mayor of Pawnee is.

Only 20.8% of registered voters—fewer than 400,000 people—went to the polls in the March mayoral primary, despite the fact that the candidates had 40 debates and spent a record \$19 million. That may sound like a lot to you, but to us it's just the budget of a Philip Seymour Hoffman vehicle. Our previous mayoral election attracted 18% of voters. Bill Clinton, when he visited last month, called the low turnout “ridiculous” and something “we can’t tolerate.” When Angelenos heard that Clinton was in town and said that, we thought, That explains the traffic on the 405.

As Eric Garcetti, who won the primary, told me, “I got 33% of the 20% turnout of the 49% of the population registered to vote. I had a landslide

with 2.6% of the population.” His new campaign strategy is to ask each voter to tell five people a day about him, which is the same strategy that won me the vice presidency of my high school.

And I was one of the 2.6%. That’s because Eric is a friend whom I’ve gone to dinner with and whose wedding reception I attended, and I think it would be cool to be friends with the mayor of L.A. Not as cool as knowing

tics just isn’t our thing. It’s not that we’re flaky or intellectually lazy. We are, but that has nothing to do with this. It’s just that we aren’t into group stuff. Think of all the people you knew in high school who were into politics. Now picture everyone you knew who dreamed of moving to L.A. To put it more simply, people who live in L.A. are not ginormous dorks.

There are many things we care deeply about in L.A., such

as annoy small restaurants; and the Hollywood sign is always about to come down.

“We have a reputation for being a liberal town, but we’re a libertarian town. Now the freeways are too crowded, and 50% of the kids aren’t going to school in their own neighborhoods. We need to build schools and parks,” Eric told me. I had no idea he was so boring.

It’s hard to care about community issues because L.A. is a place you go to make your own dreams yourself. People don’t gather in coffee shops to talk about occupying city hall; people sit alone at coffee shops talking to themselves as they read from a script. We have the soul of the West, of the young: we believe in the individual. Not caring about politics is a sign that our politics is going pretty well. The city where I would be very, very interested in my local politics is Pyongyang.

So if people don’t want to show up to vote for two very similar candidates (Eric’s opponent, Wendy Greuel, whose wedding reception I did not attend, is also a Democrat), I understand. But that means we’re never going to be a community. And at some point, everyone needs a community. You’d think a city of people who get rejected constantly would understand that. Though it might explain why, in addition to the mayoral election, there are three separate ballot measures on medical marijuana. ■



Philip Seymour Hoffman, but cool. And not nearly as cool as being friends with the mayor of a real city. Do you know how excited I would be if I were friends with the guy who is the mayor of New York? Pretty excited, largely because it would probably mean that I was a billionaire. And being friends with Rahm Emanuel would mean that I wouldn’t be too afraid to end this sentence with a joke about Rahm Emanuel.

But I don’t judge my fellow Angelenos for not showing up. First of all, it was a little chilly that day. Second, poli-

as what we look like, whether our friends are more successful than we are and, oddly, hamburgers. We also care about big issues that we can talk about with Bill Maher, such as gun control, global warming and marijuana legalization. But we dream too big to care about the boring details of local governance. After seven years, here’s everything I know about politics in this city: our schools suck; our taxes are high; white cops hate black people who hate Korean shop owners who hate children who get A-minuses; food trucks



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10 Questions

In Haiti, Farmer once used his own inhaler to save a man dying from an asthma attack



Harvard professor and global-health activist **Paul Farmer** on helping Haiti, rethinking aid—and bathroom signs

Your new book *To Repair the World* includes some of your commencement speeches. Are you ever tempted to tell graduates, “I could have saved thousands of lives with the money you spent on your degree?”

I don't think of it that way. I think, Here's a chance to reach out to people who probably are unaware—as I was at their age—of their privilege and to engage them in the work.

You say the very poorest don't get health care because of a failure of imagination. Is that really what it is?

It must be, because a lot of the technologies or the human resources that you'd need to do a good job in settings of poverty, we have them. We have great preventives like vaccines. We have new ways of diagnosing. We have a lot of therapies that can save lives. We know a lot about how to build teams who can deliver care. So it must be a failure of imagination.

Instead of aid, you prefer the idea of “accompaniment,” of staying with people until they believe all their needs are met. Doesn't such an open-ended approach take more resources than we can spare?

Great health care may be less expensive than emergency or tardily administered health care. I've been lucky enough to work in rural Haiti, rural Rwanda, and have seen what can happen when there are judicious investments.

You miraculously saved a man who was about to die from an asthma attack. What do you take away from that story?

I'd been there in his village for a community meeting, and the only thing I had in my pocket was my own inhaler. If you're having an asthma attack and you can get albuterol, it looks like a miracle. The next day he came to see me and brought me a rooster and heaped praise on me. You like that when you're a doctor...

Well, who doesn't want a rooster?

I was thinking more of the praise. And then you realize it would be better to build a system that protects people from that kind of risk so they don't need a miracle.

Does it exhilarate you more to change public policy or to physically save one guy?

In Rwanda, for example, just 10 years ago there was no community-based health-insurance scheme. Now almost 95% of Rwandans are involved in at least some health-insurance scheme. Life expectancy has almost doubled. Child mortality has

plummeted. Death during childbirth and deaths from AIDS and tuberculosis have dropped precipitously. Although it's enjoyable to deliver care, it's better to do it in a system that's going to protect everybody.

You recently became a special adviser to the U.N. on lessons from Haiti. What are the lessons from Haiti?

One of the lessons is that you have to build back the public

sector stronger. Resources have to flow to the public sector and not just to nongovernmental organizations. And to have none of our attention turned to that was a mistake.

Your brother was a pro wrestler. Did you watch him and think, Oh, I'm going to have to splint that?

To me, all sports are extreme. I always counseled my brother to get out of them.

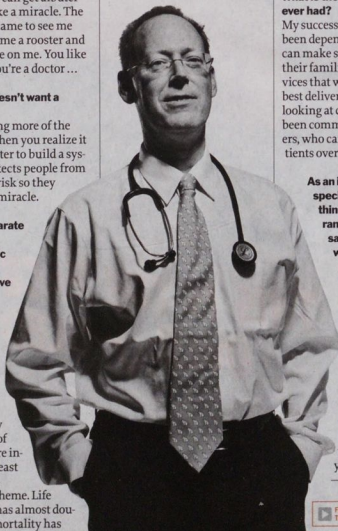
What is the best idea you've ever had?

My success as a doctor has been dependent on people who can make sure patients and their families receive the services that we prescribe. The best delivery idea we've had, looking at chronic disease, has been community health workers, who can accompany patients over time.

As an infectious-disease specialist, what do you think of signs in restaurant bathrooms that say employees must wash hands before returning to work?

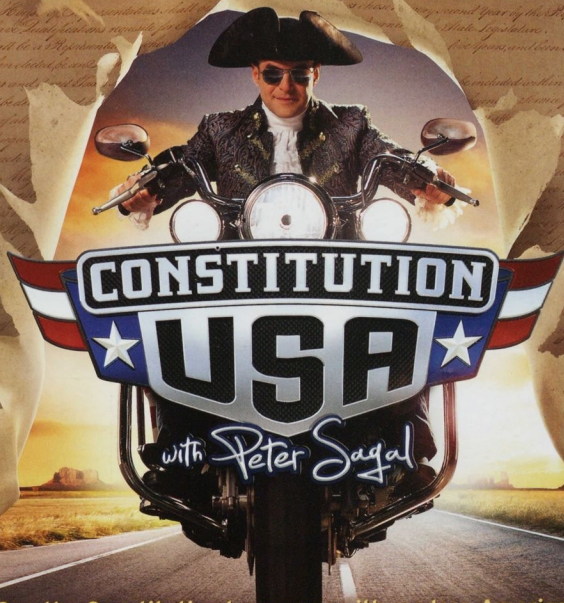
People who actually study the effectiveness of admonitions on walls have learned that it's probably more effective to say, “Hey, wouldn't you like to serve other people by not transmitting your skin flora to your diners' meals?”

—BELINDA LUSCOMBE





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